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THE DOCTRINES OF THE MĀTURĪDITE SCHOOL  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AS-SAWĀD AL-A'ZAM  
OF AL-HAKĪM AS-SAMARQANDĪ

by

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Thesis presented to the University of Edinburgh  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 1974



### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Professor W. Montgomery Watt, of whose advice and suggestions I have availed myself a great deal.

I am also in debt to the University of Kuwait for granting me this scholarship, and for making it possible for me to visit the Soviet Union, Istanbūl, Irān, Cairo and Baghdād, and to the Muslim Religious Board of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

I should like to extend my thanks to my father, to my wife Ibtisām al-Mālik, to my family, to the Revd. J.M. Ritchie, to Mr. Aḥmad El-Galli and to the rest of my colleagues, and to the Librarians of Edinburgh University.

My thanks also go to Mrs. P.B. Williams who typed this thesis, and to Miss I. Crawford, the Secretary of the Department of Arabic Studies.

### ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Al-Māturīdiyya are those who followed the teachings of Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Māturīdī who was in his turn a follower of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa.

The school of al-Māturīdī, along with that of al-Ash‘arī, made a great impact on Islamic thought and together they upheld and defended Sunnism from the 4/10 century onwards.

In the first part of this thesis, an endeavour will be made to get to know this scholar and other topics to be studied will include the period during which this school emerged, the position of Samarqand as the headquarters of the Māturīdites, the teachers of al-Māturīdī and the students who studied directly under him and their contribution to Islamic thought.

The second part of the thesis will be devoted to an introduction to al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī's work, As-Sawād al-A‘zam. Al-Ḥakīm was the first student to study under al-Māturīdī and together they planted the first seeds of this school.

In another section of this part a comparison between the teacher al-Māturīdī and the student al-Ḥakīm will be presented and this part will be ended by a translation of As-Sawād al-A‘zam which embodies the early dogmatic thinking of the Māturīdite school.

The last part of the thesis is an appendix which deals with a mas‘ala ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī entitled: Is Imān created or uncreated, Hal al-Imān Makhlūq aw Ghayr Makhlūq?



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(A & J)	To Him belongs glory and power
<u>Ahm</u>	Ibn-Ḥanbal, <u>Al-Musnad</u> .
<u>Ansāb</u>	as-Sam‘ānī, <u>K. al-Ansāb</u>
(AS)	peace be upon him
<u>Ayyūb</u>	Ayyūb ‘Alī, <u>Al-‘Aqīda al-Māturīdiyya</u>
<u>Bagh</u>	al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, <u>Tārīkh Baghdād</u> .
<u>Balkh</u>	al-Balkhī, <u>Faḍā’il Balkh</u>
<u>B.M.</u>	al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, <u>As-Sawād al-A‘ẓam</u> [Manuscript in British Museum]
<u>B.N.</u>	al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, <u>As-Sawād al-A‘ẓam</u> [Manuscript in Bibliothèque National]
<u>Brok.</u>	Brockelmann <u>Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur</u>
<u>Dār.</u>	al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, <u>As-Sawād al-A‘ẓam</u> [Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya]
<u>Dāwūd.</u>	Abū Dāwūd, <u>Sunan</u>
<u>D.I.</u>	Amīn, <u>Duḥa-l-Islām</u> .
<u>Dīn.</u>	al-Baghdādī, K. <u>Uṣūl ad-Dīn</u> .
<u>E.I.</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u> .
<u>Farq.</u>	al-Baghdādī, <u>Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq</u> .
<u>Fawd.</u>	al-Laknawī, <u>Al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya fī Tarājim</u> <u>al-Ḥanafiyya</u> .
<u>H.M.P.</u>	Sharīf, <u>A History of Muslim Philosophy</u> .
<u>Irā.</u>	al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī <u>As-Sawād al-A‘ẓam</u> [Persian version, published in Irān]
<u>Ishārāt.</u>	al-Bayāḍī, <u>Ishārāt al-Murām</u>
<u>Jar.</u>	Ibn-abī-l-Wafā', <u>Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍī'a fī</u> <u>Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya</u>
<u>Juml.</u>	al-Bukhārī, <u>Jumal Uṣūl ad-Dīn</u> .
<u>Kaf.</u>	al-Kaffawī, <u>Ṭabaqāt Katā'ib A'lām al-Akhyār</u>

- Kanz. al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-‘Ummāl  
(KAW) May God honour him.
- Kh Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Kashf az-Zunun.
- Khalḍ. Ibn Khalḍūn, Al-Muqaddima.
- Khiz. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, Khizānat al-Fiqh.  
(LA) God curse him.
- Lubāb Ibn-al-Athīr, Al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb  
Maq. al-Ash‘arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-Khtilāf  
al-Muṣallīn.
- M.C. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed.
- Mez. Mez, Die Renaissance Des Islams  
[Arabic Translation]
- Mift. Tāshköprüzade, Miftāḥ as-Sa‘āda wa Miṣbāḥ  
as-Siyāda fī Mawḍu‘āt al-‘Ulūm.
- Mizān adh-Dhahabī, Mizān al-I‘tidāl fī Naqd ar-Rijāl.
- Mus. Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ
- Must. Mustafizur-Raḥmān, An Edition of the first two  
Chapters of al-Māturīdī's "Ta'wīlat ahl  
as-Sunna" [Ph.D thesis]
- Q. Different translations of the Qur‘ān, with  
some amendments.
- Qand. an-Nasafī, Qandiyya.  
(RAA) God be pleased with him (them)  
(SAAS) God bless him and Grant him peace.
- Samarkand. Oumniakov & Aleskerov, Samarkand.
- Sez. Sezgin, Geschichte Des Arabischen Schrifttums.
- Shadh. Ibn-al-‘Imād. Shadharāt adh-Dhahab fī Akhbār  
man Dhahab.
- Shr. Ash-Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-Milāl wa-n-Niḥāl.
- Subk. as-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi‘iyya al-Kubrā.

<u>Sulm.</u>	as-Sulamī, <u>K. Tabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyya</u>
(SWT)	May He be praised and exalted
(T)	The exalted
<u>Tabt.</u>	Ṭāshköprüzade, <u>Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'</u> .
<u>Tadhk.</u>	Adh-Dhahabī, <u>Tadhkirat al-Huffāz</u>
<u>Tāj.</u>	Ibn Quṭlubugha, <u>Tāj at-Tarājim</u>
<u>Tahdh.</u>	Ibn-Ḥajar, <u>Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb.</u>
<u>Ta'wīlat.</u>	al-Māturīdī, <u>Ta'wīlāt ahl-as-Sunna.</u>
<u>Tawhīd.</u>	al-Māturīdī, <u>At-Tawhīd.</u>
<u>Tr.</u>	at-Tirmidhī, <u>Ṣaḥīḥ</u>
<u>Turk.</u>	Barthold, <u>Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion.</u>
<u>Uṣūl.</u>	al-Pazdawī, <u>K. Uṣūl ad-Dīn.</u>
<u>Usd.</u>	Adh-Dhahabī, <u>Usd al-Ghāba fī Ma'rifat aṣ-Ṣaḥāba</u>
<u>Watt.</u>	Watt, <u>The Formative Period of Islamic Thought.</u>

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The school of al-Māturīdī is one of the important theological schools in Islamic History. Nonetheless, this school was deprived of its status and was overshadowed by the school of al-Ash'arī. It has not been given the attention which is due to it. This thesis, however, tries to make up for that by laying more emphasis on the pioneers of this school.

This work is divided into two parts:

I. The School of al-Māturīdī. II. As Sawād al-A'ẓam of al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī. Finally, there is appended a Mas'ala ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī.

I. The first part deals with the school of al-Māturīdī, Samarqand, the headquarters of the Māturīdites; al-Māturīdī, his teachers and his students; and this part will be concluded with an attempt to show why al-Ash'arī drew more attention than al-Māturīdī.

As for the works which are mainly consulted in this part, they are the Ḥanafite and the non-Ḥanafite biographical books, historical works and different works written by the Māturīdites themselves.

The non-Ḥanafite biographical books, such as Mīzān al-I'tidāl by Adh-Dhahabī; Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb by al-'Asqalānī; Shadhrāt adh-Dhahab by Ibn al-'Imād; etc., hardly yielded any comprehensive idea about the Māturīdites. Sometimes the teachers and the students of al-Māturīdī are mentioned,

but not al-Māturīdī himself.

As-Samʿānī, the author of Kitāb Al-Ansāb, for example, gives an account of the biography of al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, al-Pazdawī and ar-Rustufaghni, who are students of al-Māturīdī, but he does not mention the name of al-Māturīdī when he touched on Māturīt, but only mentions him as the grandfather of Imām Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Māturīdī. So it is not surprising that the transcriber of Al-Ansāb writes on the margin of p. 499, "He did not mention Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī".

Even the books of sects such as Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq by al-Baghdādī, and Al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal by ash-Shahrastānī, for example, do not include the Māturīdiyya as among the sects they listed in their books, whereas al-Ashʿarī is mentioned both in these two and in other works. Ibn Khaldūn, in his work Al-Muqaddima, made mention of al-Ashʿarī in the chapter he devoted to Kalām, but there is no mention of al-Māturīdī, let alone his students.

So also, the Ḥanafite biographical books do not give sufficient information about the Māturīdiyya. Examples of that are Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīʿa by Ibn Abī-l-Wafāʾ al-Qurashī; Al-Fawāʾid al-Bahiyya by al-Laknawī; and Tāj at-Tarājim by Ibn Quṭlubugha. In Tabaqāt al-Fuqahāʾ of Ṭāshköprüzāde two teachers of al-Māturīdī, al-Juzajānī and al-ʿIyādī were confused; the name of the former being given to the biography of the latter and vice-versa, and al-Ashʿarī was included among the Ḥanafites. To confirm some reports one has to resort to non-Arabic works, such as Qandiyya ascribed to Abū Ḥafṣ Najm ad-Dīn an-Nasafī, and Faḍāʾil Balkh by

'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar al-Balkhī, both of which are written in Persian.

To know the historical background of Samarqand, I consulted Tārīkh aṭ-Ṭabarī and al-Kāmil fi-t-Tārīkh by Ibn al-Athīr; Tārīkh Bukhārā by an-Narshakhī; Samarkand by Oumniakov and Aleskerov; Tārīkh al-Ittiḥād as-Soviātī by Yibivanov and Fidosov [Arabic Translation]; Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion by Barthold, etc.

Along with these works I consulted some works of the Māturīdites such as Kitāb At-Tawḥīd and At-Ta'wīlāt by al-Maturīdī. Kitāb At-Tawḥīd is edited by Fath Allāh Khuleif, but one would still find it difficult to know some of the ideas presented in this edition, because the style of al-Māturīdī is complicated, and because Khuleif depended on the only extant Manuscript in Cambridge, and that prevented him from comparing it with other copies, which could have been particularly helpful in smoothing its complicated style and surmounting the other difficulties which any editor would face in editing a manuscript.

I also made use of a very important manuscript in this respect entitled Jumal Uṣūl ad-Dīn by Abū Salama al-Bukhārī. In addition to that many manuscripts ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī were studied.

II. The second part of the thesis consists of an introduction to As-Sawād al-A'zam of al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, a comparison between the ideas of al-Māturīdī and those of al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, and finally a translation of As-Sawād al-A'zam.



Apart from the different translations of the Qur'ān, such as the Meaning of the Glorious Qur'ān by M. Pickthall, and The Koran by N. Dawood, and apart from the books of Tradition such as Kanz al-'Ummāl by al-Muttaqī al-Hindī Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and Al-Musnad of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, I consulted some books which I used in the first part.

But the main work I relied upon in this part was As-Sawād al-A'zam of al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī.

In the translation of this work I relied mainly upon the British Museum MS. No. Or 12781; but I compared it with the Bibliothèque National MS. No. 824-1, and with another copy of this work printed in Cairo 1253/1837, and with another copy written in Persian and edited by 'Abd-al-Hayy Ḥabībī in Iran.

A full description of the British Museum manuscript will be given later, but first the other copies are to be discussed.

The Bibliothèque National manuscript is not ascribed to al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, but we read on the cover of this work; "Hādhā Kitāb as-Sawād al-A'zam li Abī Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr 'alā Madhhab al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa".

This ascription is not sound because no one has attributed this work to other than al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī. But this ascription may be due to the fact that another work entitled Ar-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Ahwā' is ascribed by Kashf az-Zunūn and others to Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bukhārī. It is needless to point out the similarity between the titles of the two works of al-Ḥakīm and of al-Bukhārī. So it is not surprising that anyone should mix up the two works with one

another.

The printed Arabic text was printed in the last century, and it is noticeable that it dispensed with the many names mentioned in the two manuscripts, probably because a lot of them are unknown or simply misquoted, which makes it tremendously difficult to identify them.

As for the Persian text, it is not confined to As-Sawād al-A'zam but also brings up some stories (Ḥikāyāt) about some ascetics. This work ends with a survey of the different sects in Islām.

As regards the main manuscript I depended on, it is Kitāb Ar-Radd 'alā Aṣṣ'ḥāb al-Ahwā' al-Musammā bi -s-Sawād al-A'zam 'alā Madhhab al-Imām al-A'zam 'Abī Ḥanīfa. It is extant in the British Museum, MS. No. OR 12781. This work seems to be a stereotype Ḥanafite piece of work, upholding the school of Abū Ḥanīfa against other doctrines.

It is dated as Saturday - Muḥarram 1132/1719. It consists of eighty-two folios; every folio contains thirteen lines with clear handwriting, although some words are not clear, and some ideas are ambiguous, and there are a lot of grammatical mistakes.

The transcriber often begins his work by the pronoun "he", and it is not known who this person is. Many names cannot be identified because all copies differ from one another in presenting them; for instance, in B.M. f.26<sup>b</sup> a person is mentioned as merely al-Ḥasan in Dār, p. 19 as al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī and in B.N. f. 16<sup>b</sup> as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The only name which should have been there, but is not

mentioned, is al-Māturīdī, whose name has never been mentioned in the work.

Another difficulty is that some Traditions are not mentioned in their ordinary formula, which exists in the books of Traditions, and some verses of the Qur'ān are not accurately quoted.

The appendix is about a Mas'ala ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, which is entitled Hal al-Īmān Makhlūq aw Ghayr Makhlūq, MS. No. Add. 9509 in the British Museum; and this work is compared with another work by al-Qaramānī, entitled At-Tawḍīḥ.

## PART I

### THE SCHOOL OF AL-MĀTURĪDĪ

The school of al-Māturīdī, although overshadowed by that of al-Ash‘arī, was one of the important theological schools in Islamic history.

In the first part of this thesis, we will discuss the life and works of the teachers and the students of al-Māturīdī as well as his own life and works.

We will then discuss the argument concerning the predominance of the school of al-Ash‘arī over that of al-Māturīdī.

# 1. Al-Māturīdī, his Teachers and Students

The Māturīdites tried to play a middle role so as to secure Islamic unity.

The distinctive feature of the school of al-Māturīdī is the use of rational methods to defend a central Sunnite position.

This school was one of the conciliatory schools which took the responsibility for fulfilling the task of defending the doctrines of Ahl as-Sunna wa-l-Jamā'a.

Giving reason for writing his work As-Sawād al-A'zam, al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī a distinguished student of al-Māturīdī, said:

"The Messenger of God said: The children of Israel split into seventy-one sects, seventy of which have perished and one has been saved; my Community will split into seventy-three sects. All of them will be summoners to error and heads of dissension, each one of them say 'I am right', erring and guiding to Hell except the Greater Company (as-Sawād al-A'zam); so adhere to them..."

Then as-Samarqandī started to qualify the Greater Company by saying:

"No one can be included in this Greater Company until he professes these sixty-two articles of belief..."

Then he gave a list of these sixty-two articles of belief.<sup>1</sup>

By using reason to defend the Islamic doctrines, al-Māturīdiyya were using a method not unfamiliar to the

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1. B.M. ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>b</sup>; Irā. pp. 17-19; Qand. pp. 3, 5, 20; Turk. p. 267.

Ḥanafites for they used reason in tackling some legal problems and thus were known as Aṣ'ḥāb ar-Ra'y i.e. those who resort to reason in law as against Aṣ'ḥāb al-Ḥadīth who referred to the authority of the Prophet's Traditions in solving those problems.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Māturīdī, some of his teachers and some of his students, lived in Samarqand, one of the ancient cities in Central Asia.<sup>2</sup> There is no full agreement as to the meaning

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1. Goldziher, I. Muslim Studies, London, 1971, 2/78-83.

2. Today Samarqand is the administrative centre of the region of the same name, and after Tashkand the second of the towns of Uzbekistan by dint of its population, the extent of its territory and its industrial and cultural importance. In 1970 the number of its inhabitants exceeded 270,000 people.

Samarqand occupies a territory of 40 square kilometers which stretches along the left bank of Zeravchan, between the great irrigation canals of Dargom and Snab. Samarqand is situated at an altitude of 720 metres above sea-level. To the North the valley of Zeravchan is bordered by the mountain range of Nouratiniski and to the South by the foot-hills of the Zeravchan chain which slopes down gradually to the steppes.

The climate is typically continental - a torrid summer, a rather cold winter, and very weak precipitation. The average annual temperature is 13-14 degrees Centigrade, but in winter - in January especially - the thermometer sometimes falls to -25 degrees, while in July (the hottest month of the central Asiatic summer) the temperature can climb to 41 degrees centigrade.

The town is situated in an oasis and is very densely populated. It constitutes, as it were, the geometrical centre of Central Asia. The railways, roads and air-lines which cross each other there link it with all the corners of the U.S.S.R. See Samar Kand. pp. 5-63.

(Contd.)

of Samarqand. Some scholars hold that the word Samarqand consists of two parts, "Samar" and "Qand". In the Eastern Iranian language "Qand" means town, but "Samar" has not yet been satisfactorily explained.<sup>1</sup> Others said that this word originated from the founder of the city, or its conqueror, Shamar Abū Karb, a King who attacked it, and that then this name was Arabicised into "Samar".<sup>2</sup> Some European scholars were inclined to hold the opinion that Samarqand came from a Sanskrit word "Samarya", which means assembly. Al-Bīrūnī and al-Kashgarī maintained that this word had a Turkish origin, namely "Semiskent", meaning the rich city.<sup>3</sup> An-Nāhī says that "Samar" means in Turkish "What is put on the back of the animal", and because Samarqand was situated on a high place it was called thus, meaning the high town.<sup>4</sup> The Russian writers think that the

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Contd.)

For more information about the historical development of Samarqand see Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānījī: Mu'jam al-'Umrān fī-l-Mustadrak 'Alā Mu'jam al-Bulḍān 1/236 (Cairo, 1907); Elizabeth Bacon: 'Soviet Policy in Turkestan', Middle East Journal 1/386-400 (1947); Geoffrey Wheeler: 'Soviet Central Asia', Muslim World 56/239-243 (1966).

1. Schaefer, H.H. Samarkand. E.I. 4/129.
2. Samarkand, p. 13.
3. Samarkand, p. 13.
4. Khiz. p. 10.

origin of this name is "Marqanda". That is the old name for it, and they think it is a Hellenistic transcription of the Sogdian name of the town Smarkance.<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of this word is not our deep concern in this thesis as much as the town itself and the period in which the school of al-Māturīdī appeared on the scene.

The historians and geographers praise Samarqand's soils and climate, and although it had suffered many attacks by different nations, it remained a centre of civilisation. In the period in which the school of al-Māturīdī appeared, Samarqand was famous for its paper, and silk, and it was the best centre for the trade in slaves who were brought from Bulgaria.<sup>2</sup> Recent excavations which have been carried out by the Russians showed some pottery which had been made at that period.<sup>3</sup>

At that period Samarqand was ruled by the Sāmānids, a dynasty which respected knowledge and encouraged scholars.<sup>4</sup> They had good relations with the 'Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdād, and their region was relatively quiet, so that there was opportunity for civilisation to flourish and for scholars

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1. Yabifanov and Fidosov. Tārīkh al-Ittiḥād as-Suviatī (Arabic translation from Russian) by Kh. ad-Dāmin and N. Ṭawīl, pp. 20, 82, 121, 124, 279. Moscow, n.d.; Samarkand pp. 13-16.
  2. Turk p. 236. Mez. p. 268.
  3. G. Fehervari. 'Art and Architecture', The Cambridge History of Islam, 2/712 (Cambridge 1970).
  4. Turk p. 232.



to engage in their work. Although Nicholson<sup>1</sup> takes it for granted that they were Shī'ites, most of the scholars tend to hold the opinion that they were Sunnites. In fact, it was one of them, Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad as-Sāmānī (d. 261/875), who asked al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, a student of al-Māturīdī, to write his work As-Sawād al-A'zam in defence of Ahl as-Sunna. Nicholson was probably led to this opinion because one of the Sāmānids, Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad as-Sāmānī (d. 301/914) was influenced by the Shī'ites. This led however to dissatisfaction on the part of the people, and his son, Nūḥ b. Naṣr, interfered and quietened things down.<sup>2</sup>

In their time Arabic, as well as Persian, was the language of science and scholarly work.<sup>3</sup> Among those scholars were the teachers of al-Māturīdī, the subject of our next paragraph.

#### a) The Teachers of al-Māturīdī

##### 1. Muḥammad b. Muqātil ar-Rāzī

Muḥammad b. Muqātil ar-Rāzī, the Qāḍī of ar-Ray, was born on a date unknown, and he died in 248/862. He received his education from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī (d. 189/804) and Abū Muṭī' al-Balkhī (d. 199/814)

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1. R.A. Nicholson: A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 271, 2nd ed. Cambridge 1969.
  2. Richard N. Frye: 'The Sāmānids: A Little Known Dynasty' - Muslim World 34/40-45 (1944); Turk. pp. 242, 244.
  3. Khiz. p. 50.

and Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥanīfa (d. 188/803). This would mean that he was born before 178/794, if we assume that he had attended his teachers' circle when he was twelve years old.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing is known about his work except that he was one of al-Māturīdī's teachers. His opinions were quoted by Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī in his book An-Nawāzil.<sup>2</sup> In ar-Rāzī's opinion, if a Muslim says to one of the People of the Book (dhimmī), "Adopt Islam", and the latter says, "I do", this must be regarded as accepting Islam on the part of the dhimmī.<sup>3</sup>

When touching on the problem of khalq-al-Qur'ān, al-Pazdawī says that al-Ma'mūn gave up the doctrine of the created Qur'ān towards the end of his life because of a discussion that took place between Muḥammad b. Muqātil ar-Rāzī and Bishr-al-Marīsī (d. 218/833). Ar-Rāzī outstripped al-Marīsī who was in favour of the doctrine of khalq-al-Qur'ān. Then al-Ma'mūn had him crucified, and the people regarded that gesture as a withdrawal from his previous attitude.<sup>4</sup> A similar story is related by Abū-l-Layth

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1. Jar. 2/134; Fawd p. 201; Tahdh. 9/469-470; Mīzān 4/47; Tabt. p. 40; Ishārāt, p.23.

2. Kh. 2/1981.

3. Jar. 2/134.

4. Uṣul p.54. This story seems to be impossible, since al-Ma'mūn was still enforcing the Miḥna at the time of his death.

as-Samarqandī and other writers, but he did not say that ar-Rāzī was the person who discussed this problem with al-Marīṣī, but 'Abd-al-'Azīz b. Yahya al-Kitānī.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that not all scholars regarded ar-Rāzī as a person upon whom they could rely. Adh-Dhahabī said: "He was talked about, but was not abandoned" (tukullima fīhi walam yutrak), i.e. He was accused of untrustworthiness, but his Ḥadīths were accepted by some scholars.<sup>2</sup>

According to Ibn Ḥajar, it seems that al-Bukhārī, the famous narrator of Ḥadīth, went much further than that, for he said one day: "We were informed by Muḥammad b. Muqātil" ..., then he was interrupted by a question, "Was it ar-Rāzī?". Al-Bukhārī replied: "It would be more pleasant for me to fall from the sky than to transmit a Ḥadīth from Muḥammad b. Muqātil ar-Rāzī".<sup>3</sup>

If this story is authentic, it still does not necessarily mean that ar-Rāzī was not trustworthy, but it is more likely that al-Bukhārī regarded him as such because of his own strictness in accepting Ḥadīths.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Nuṣayr b. Yahya al-Balkhī

Sometimes he is called "Naṣr" instead of Nuṣayr. He

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1. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, Tuhfat al-Anām. Chester Beatty, MS. No. 3936 f. 82; Dīn. p. 309.

2. Mīzān 4/47.

3. Tahdh. 9/469-470.

4. Cf. D.I. 110-119.

died in 268/883. He received his education from Abū Sulaymān al-Juzajānī and Abū Mutī' al-Balkhī (d.199/814).

Nothing is known about his own works, even if he has any. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī mentioned him in his work An-Nawāzil.<sup>1</sup> It is known from some sources that he met Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and had some discussions with him about the latter's favouring Mālik b. Anas above Abū Ḥanīfa.<sup>2</sup>

3. Aḥmad b. Is'hāq al-Juzajānī Abū Bakr, known as Ibn Ṣubayḥ.

He received his education from Abū Sulayman al-Juzajānī. The school of Samarqand in its early days bore his name and that of his family - al-Juzajāniyya.<sup>3</sup> Some of his works were mentioned by some sources, but none of them have so far been presented or discovered. They are as follows:-

a. Al-Farq wa-t-Tamyīz.<sup>4</sup>

b. At-Tawba.<sup>5</sup>

It is reported that he had written other works, but they are not named.

4. Abū Naṣr-al-'Iyāḍī Aḥmad b. 'Abbās b. Ḥusayn b. Jabala b. Ghālib b. Jābir b. Nawfal b. 'Iyāḍ b. Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-Faqīh as-Samarqandī.

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1. Kh. 1/1981.

2. Fawd. p. 221; Jar. 2/200.

3. Juml. f. 121; Tabt. p. 47; Jar. 1/60; Fawd. p. 14.

4. Jar. 1/60; Fawd. p. 14.

5. Jar. 1/60; Fawd. p. 14.

Neither the year of his birth nor that of his death is known, but he must have died during the reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Sāmān al-Kabīr (d. 261/875).

He received his education from Abū Sulaymān al-Juzajānī, so he must have been born before 200/815. In spite of his being aged, and a teacher of al-Māturīdī, he used to sit with him in the circle of Abū Bakr al-Juzajānī. Unfortunately, nothing is known about his works, or whether he had even written any. Apart from al-Māturīdī, he taught his two sons Abū Aḥmad and Abū Bakr, as well as forty men of the same age as al-Māturīdī.

As for his life, it is obvious that he is from al-Anṣār, and some scholars made a connection between this fact and al-Māturīdī's being Anṣārī.<sup>1</sup> Al-'Iyādī was not only a scholar but also a good archer and a brave man: it is said that he could shoot 1,000 arrows at the same spot.<sup>2</sup> In the reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Sāmān al-Kabīr a war broke out between the Muslims and some of the Turks who had not yet adopted Islam, and who were living in Isbījāb, one of the borders of the Islamic territories. Accompanied by his eldest son, Abū Aḥmad, who was a young boy at that time, Abū Naṣr joined the army. The battle was not in their favour, and Abū Naṣr and his son were taken prisoners along with the rest of the defeated army. All were taken to Bāgho the King of their enemy. The king was holding a

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1. H.M.P. 1/259; Must. f.47.

2. Must. f. 47.

stiff bow in his hands.<sup>1</sup> He asked if anyone could handle this bow. Abū Naṣr said: "I can, but only if I am given an arrow with it." Then he turned to his son and whispered to him in Arabic: "I never missed a target in my life". He said: "I have no excuse for not killing this unbeliever. I will kill him and when I have done so do not say that you are my son, lest they kill you with me, but claim that you are my servant and go to Samarqand where you can find some reliable friends such as Abū Zakariyya Yahya b. Ishāq." He prayed for his two sons, and pointed the arrow at the chest of the King, and gave him a lethal shot. The story goes that he was immediately captured and put in a cauldron full of boiling oil. The last words he said were: "Fear nothing, my boy, there is no harm for him who dies as a happy martyr".<sup>2</sup>

Those are the teachers of al-Māturīdī, who influenced him and discussed with him the different issues concerning Islam. Although we have not so far examined any of their works, some of their scattered teachings are being dealt with by certain authors and biographers. Having learnt something about the lives of the teachers of al-Māturīdī, we will now turn to the man himself.

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1. This area was famous for its bows which only the strongest could bend - Turk. p. 235.
  2. Ta'wīlāt. Introd. p. 13; Jar. 1/70; Kaf. f.109; Juml. f. 161; Must. f.47; Fawd. p. 23. Tabt. p. 55.

b) Al-Māturīdīi. His Life

His full name is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī as-Samarqandī. Some biographers add al-Anṣārī to his Nisba, relating him to Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd b. Kulayb al-Anṣārī, at whose house the Prophet was a guest on his emigration to al-Madīna.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about his parents or family, but he was born in Māturīd, or Māturīt, a region in Samarqand and known to be an area where many wealthy people resided.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Māturīdī was venerated and highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens and his students, as well as by the people of Transoxiana as a whole. This is shown by the many important titles given to him by his followers. He was called "Imām al-Hudā" (The Imām of Guidance), "Imām al-Mutakallimīn" (The Imām of the Theologians), "Muṣaḥḥih 'Aqā'id al-Muslimīn" (The Verifier of the Muslims' beliefs), "Ra'īs Ahl as-Sunna" (Chief of the People of the Sunna); and some people even went as far as calling him "al-Mahdī".

These titles reflect his importance in the eyes of his followers and of historians.

Al-Māturīdī's year of birth is not known,<sup>3</sup> but we can assume that he was born about 238/852, taking into account

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1. H.M.P. 1/259; Must. f. 41.

2. Turk. p. 90; I visited Māturīd in the winter of 1974. It still bears the same name, and it is on the outskirts of Samarqand.

3. Prof. W.M. Watt suggests that he might have been born in 257/870. Cf. Watt, p. 312.

that his senior teacher, Muḥammad b. Muqātil ar-Rāzī, died in 248/862, and allowing for the fact that it is a remote possibility that al-Māturīdī should have started to receive his education before the age of ten, which would mean that he was born in the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Mutawakkil (232/846 - 247/861), and prior to the birth of Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (260/873 - 324/935), his counterpart in the defence of the doctrine of Ahl as-Sunna wa-l-Jamā'a.

As for the year of his death, most of the sources agree that he died in 333/944, the exception being Ṭāshköprüzāde, who states that he died either in 333/944 or 336/947,<sup>1</sup> which would coincide with the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Muttaqī (329/940 - 333/944), and the Sāmānid prince Nūḥ b. Naṣr as-Sāmānī (331/942 - 343/954). Al-Māturīdī was buried in Jākardiza, a cemetery in Samarqand where scholars used to be buried.<sup>2</sup> This cemetery

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1. Cf. Tawḥīd Introd. pp. 2-3.

2. When I went to Samarqand in the winter of 1974, I asked some local people about the location of his grave, and some of them said that it is still there, along with his mosque in his garden in Maturīd. This opinion is supported by Mufti Diyā' ad-Dīn Babakhanove, who said that he had visited his grave several times. The second opinion, which is more likely, and supported by historical sources, says that al-Māturīdī's grave is in the cemetery of Jakardiza, but an earthquake hit Samarqand and destroyed some features of that cemetery including the grave of al-Māturīdī. Some people, unknowingly, came later on and built some buildings over these graves, and the grave of al-Māturīdī was one of those erased. This idea is supported by Shaykh Alī Khān, 88 years old, of Tashkend, who said to me: "I visited the grave of al-Māturīdī three



was owned by Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, one of his followers.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Māturīdī influenced many of his own and other scholars' students.<sup>2</sup> Many scholars quoted him when discussing theological matters, and up till modern times there are some scholars who cite his ideas and adopt his opinions, for example, Muḥammad 'Abdu, the famous Egyptian scholar, used to take al-Māturīdī's ideas when touching on the doctrine of goodness and badness of actions.<sup>3</sup> There are two schools in Central Asia. One is in Bukhārā and the other is in Tashkend. Both of these schools are still carrying on al-Māturīdī's teachings. This distinction which was bestowed on al-Māturīdī was due to the impact he made on Islamic culture. One can see new ways of thinking in his writings.

Contd.) times in my life. The first was in 1914 and I saw the name of al-Māturīdī engraved on the gravestone. I visited his grave in 1921, and his name was still engraved on the gravestone; but when I visited it in 1960, I did not see his grave and the whole area was reconstructed, and new buildings were there instead.

1. Jar. 2/130; Fawd. 195; Tabt. 56; Tawḥīd Introd. p. 3; Ta'wīlāt. Introd. p.14; Ayyūb. ff. 250-258; Must . ff. 40-43; Qand. p.5; Turk. p. 89; E.I. p. 3/414-415.
2. Tawḥīd Introd. p. 25.
3. Muḥammad 'Abdu: Risālat at-Tawḥīd, 4th Ed, Cairo, 1971, edited by Maḥmūd Abū Raīya, pp. 75-86; Malcolm Kerr: Islamic Reform, Cambridge 1966, p. 127.

He was the first to take the existence of evil as a new proof in favour of God's existence and against the self-creation of the world. The hypothesis is that: If this world was created by itself it would not have allowed evil to exist in its creation, because whatever is created by itself would not allow in itself anything but the best; and since one can observe evil in the world, the world must therefore have been created.<sup>1</sup>

In his book At-Tawhīd, although it was not meant to be a book of sects, al-Māturīdī introduces the ideas of many sects and doctrines, such as the Mu'tazilites, the Zoroastrians, the Manichees, the Qarāmiṭa, the Dahriyya, the Qadariyya, etc. and he discusses them at length.<sup>2</sup> In doing so, al-Māturīdī preceded al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), the author of Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-Firaq, Ash-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), the author of Kitāb Al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal, and Ibn an-Nadīm (d. 279/1978), the author of Al-Fihrist.

These are only a few aspects of al-Māturīdī's life which have made him one of the most important figures in Islamic theology. Some of his ideas will be dealt with later on.

## ii. His Works

Al-Māturīdī <sup>is alleged to have been</sup> ~~seems to be~~ a very productive author.

Different sources number his books at about twenty-four.

Some of these books are voluminous, and yet others are only

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1. Tawhīd Introd. p. 34.

2. Tawhīd pp. 49, 60, 86, 137, 141, and many other places.

a few pages. Nevertheless it is clear from the examination of the available books ascribed to him that this allegation is not entirely sound. Only a few of his books have been found, and the rest are still missing.

Al-Māturīdī wrote his works on different subjects:-

1. Tafsīr and the science of the Qur'ān
2. Kalām
3. Uṣūl
4. Miscellaneous Subjects

1. Tafsīr and the Science of the Qur'ān

(a) Ta'wīlāt Ahl as-Sunna, or Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān

This book is one of his best works. It can be found in several libraries.<sup>1</sup> A part of this work was edited by Ibrāhīm 'Awādayn and as-Sayyid 'Awādayn in Cairo in 1971. This edition of the work begins with a discussion of its authenticity and the ascription of its authorship to al-Māturīdī, and then follows Sūrat al-Fātiḥa and Sūrat al-Baqara up to Āya 141.

A Ph.D. Thesis was presented to the University of London by Muḥammad Mustafīẓ-ur-Raḥmān. The thesis deals with the first two Sūras of the Qur'ān, al-Fātiḥa and al-Baqara.

Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān has been praised by various biographers as one of the best commentaries on the Qur'ān.

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1. Must. f. 99.

(b) Risāla fīmā lā yajūz al-Waqf ‘alayh fī-l-Qur’ān

This is a work of four pages in which al-Māturīdī lays down rules for reciting the Qur’ān. This work is to be found in Istanbūl Hajjī Maḥmūd MS No. 892/2, and in other places.<sup>1</sup>

2. Uṣūl(a) Ma’ākhidh ash-Sharā’i’ fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn<sup>2</sup>(b) Kitāb Ma’ākhidh ash-Sharā’i’ fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh<sup>3</sup>(c) Kitāb al-Jadal fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh<sup>4</sup>(d) Kitāb al-Uṣūl or Uṣūl al-Fiqh

This book, Al-Uṣūl is said to be extant in Berlin.<sup>5</sup>

3. Kalām

In his works in this realm al-Māturīdī aimed at accomplishing a dual task, (a) to refute the anti-Sunnite doctrines, and (b) to expound the tenets of Ahl as-Sunna wa-l-Jamā’a. Al-Māturīdī wrote the following works in this field:

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1. Cf. Must. ff. 62-63; Sez. 1/606.

2. Kh. 1/288.

3. Fawd. 195; Mift. 1/431.

4. Brok. 1/209.

5. Brok. 1/209; Must. ff. 63-64. It is mentioned in the Berlin Catalogue that this work exists there under No. 1921, but when I asked them for a copy they replied that although this work is mentioned in the Catalogue, it is missing. Cf. Ahlwardt W. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse Der-Königlichen Bibliothek. Arabischen. Berlin. 1889. 2/391.

(a) Kitāb at-Tawhīd

This book is one of the most important works written by al-Māturīdī: it is a theological work in which he set out his own ideas concerning Kalām and theological issues. In this work, al-Māturīdī expounded the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunna wa-l-Jamā'a, and refuted those of the other sects which were in conflict with Sunnism. He took a middle course, in dealing with the theological problems, by not allying himself either with the Mu'tazilites or with the Traditionalists. This work has recently been edited by Fath-Allāh Khuleif.

(b) Al-Maqālāt<sup>1</sup>

There are some sources which affirm that this work is extant in some libraries<sup>2</sup> but even if it is so, it has not been studied.

(c) Kitāb Bayān Wahm al-Mu'tazila<sup>3</sup>(d) Kitāb Radd Awā'il al-Adilla lil-Ka'bī<sup>4</sup>(e) Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Jadal lil-Ka'bī<sup>5</sup>(f) Kitāb Radd Kitāb Wa'id al-Fussāqi lil-Kabī<sup>6</sup>(g) Kitāb Radd Wa'id al-Fussāq<sup>7</sup>(h) Kitāb Radd al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa li Abī Muḥammad al-Bāhilī<sup>8</sup>


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1. Fawd. p. 195; Jar. 2/130; Tabt. p. 56.

2. Must. f. 68; H.M.P. see Ayyūb 'Alī, Māturīdism 1/259-274; According to Ta'wīlāt this manuscript exists in Istanbul, Kurlu MS. No. 856, cf. Ta'wīlāt, p.14, Ayyūb f. 476.

3. Fawd. p. 195; Jar. 2/130; Tabt. 56; Mift. 1/431.

4. Fawd. 195; Jar. 2/130; Tabt. p. 56; Mift. 1/431.

5. Jar. 2/130; Mift. 1/431.

6. Mift. 1/431.

7. cf. Must. f. 76.

8. Fawd. p. 195; Mift. 1/431.

- (i) Kitāb Ar-Radd ‘Alā al-Qarāmiṭa<sup>1</sup>
- (j) Kitāb Ar-Radd ‘alā Uṣūl al-Qarāmiṭa<sup>2</sup>
- (k) Kitāb Ar-Radd ‘Alā Furū‘ al-Qarāmiṭa<sup>3</sup>
- (l) Radd Kitāb Al-Imāma li ba‘ḍ ar-Rawāfiḍ<sup>4</sup>

#### 4. Miscellaneous Subjects

Apart from the works we have already mentioned, the biographical dictionaries mention that al-Māturīdī had written some other works, but the titles of these are not mentioned. Some sources ascribe to al-Māturīdī other works. The following are often ascribed to him, although this is sometimes questionable:

- (a) Waṣiyya wa-Munājāt, a work written in Persian.<sup>5</sup>
- (b) Al-‘Aqīda<sup>6</sup>

Most biographical sources are doubtful if a work of this name was written by al-Māturīdī but several manuscripts with this title exist in several libraries (see Sez. 1/605)

A brief inspection shows that some of these are completely different works; a closer examination will be required to decide whether any is by al-Māturīdī himself.

A further problem is raised by Tāj ad-Dīn ‘Abd-al-

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1. Fawd. p. 195; Mift. 1/431.

2. cf. Must. f. 65.

3. Mift. 1/431.

4. Fawd. p. 195; Mift. 1/431.

5. Cf. Must. f. 71; Sez. 1/606.

6. Kh. 2/1157; Brok. 1/209; Sez. 1/605; Must. f. 72; Watt. 312.

Wahhāb b. Taqiy ad-Dīn as-Subkī who wrote a commentary on 'Aqidat Abī Manṣūr entitled As-Sayf al-Mashhūr. In his work Tabaqāt ash-Shafi'iyya as-Subkī mentions the name of Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī and Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī; but when mentioning al-Baghdādī he often says al-Ustādh Abū Manṣūr, and when mentioning Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī he often says al-Māturīdī. Referring to his work, Sharḥ 'Aqīdat al-Uṣūl, he says: "In our book, a commentary on the creed of al-Ustādh Abū Manṣūr" (fī kitābina fī sharḥ 'aqīdat al-Ustādh Abī Manṣūr). The argument now is which Ustādh Abū Manṣūr he meant. Was it Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī to whom he usually refers as al-Ustādh Abū Manṣūr, or Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī to whom he usually refers as al-Māturīdī? Could it be that as-Subkī meant Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī and not al-Māturīdī, but people thought he meant al-Māturīdī when they only say Abū Manṣūr. But, first, as-Subkī was an Ash'arite, and it is more likely that he supported an Ash'arite such as al-Baghdādī; and, second, some points in al-'Aqīda are not consistent with al-Māturīdī's views.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, one should not jump to conclusions by ascribing this work to al-Baghdādī, especially as as-Subkī did not mention al-'Aqīda as one of those books he attributes to al-Baghdādī; but this work must be compared with al-Baghdādī's ideas, and only after that can one give some suggestions.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Risāla fī-t-Tawḥīd<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. Must. f.72.

2. Cf. Subk. 2/264-265 and 3/239.

3. Must. f.73.

(d) Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar.

This book was printed in Hyderabad in 1948, and the authorship of it is ascribed to al-Māturīdī but in some MSS this attribution is lacking, and some authors ascribe the work to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, a follower of al-Māturīdī. This assumption might be strengthened by the fact that the name of Abū-l-Layth is often quoted in this work (see page 14) and that the Ash'arites who were hardly known in the days of al-Māturīdī in that region, are mentioned in this work. So there is a strong probability that Abū-l-Layth was capable of knowing some of their ideas when he appeared later on.

Furthermore, some sources indicate that there are other manuscripts of the same title attributed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī.<sup>1</sup>

(e) Sharḥ al-Ibāna 'an Uṣūl ad-Diyāna

Kitāb al-Ibāna was written by the famous scholar al-Ash'arī. Without giving any reference, Muṣṭafa 'Abd-ar-Rāziq ascribed this work to al-Māturīdī; but one would question this, since al-Māturīdī and al-Ash'arī did not agree on all issues, and it is thus less likely that al-Māturīdī should adopt or explain the ideas of al-Ash'arī,<sup>2</sup> especially as in the beginning the Ash'arites and the Māturīdites had a bitter feeling against each other, and only at a later period did they begin to have regard for one another's opinions.<sup>3</sup>

1. Sez. 1/450; M.C. 122, 123; Must. f. 74.

2. Must. ff. 75-76; Ayyūb, f. 262.

3. Ayyūb, f. 249.



These are the works which are ascribed to al-Māturīdī, and while it is clear that some of his works are being published, others are said to be still only in manuscript. Further, some of them are wrongly attributed to him. One notices the similarity between the titles of some works of al-Māturīdī, which might suggest that some sources gave different titles to one work. This, however, cannot be confirmed until his works are found and compared with one another.

c) The Students of al-Māturīdī

Al-Māturīdī had many students and followers who took care of his works and studied them. The following section is devoted to the students of al-Māturīdī who studied under him and discussed things with him directly. One notices that the students of al-Māturīdī have been neglected by academic researchers. This neglect can easily be understood in view of the lack of information about them and their works. I will endeavour to write about these students here with the introduction of a new student, whom I have never seen mentioned as a student of al-Māturīdī in any of the biographical books. He is Abū Aḥmad al-‘Iyāḍī.

It is also worth noting that al-Māturīdī's students did not always agree with him in everything.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Jar. 1/362.

1. Abū-l-Qāsim Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm  
b. Zayd al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī<sup>1</sup>

### i. His Life

He was called al-Ḥakīm (the Sage) because of his wisdom. Tritton suggests that al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī might be the brother of al-Māturīdī,<sup>2</sup> but it is apparent from the genealogy that this suggestion is not justified. Although al-Ḥakīm was a student of al-Māturīdī, he seems to have been of the same age as his teacher. They were the best of friends, and both received education from Abū Naṣr al-'Iyāḍī. Along with al-Māturīdī al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī is often mentioned as the defender of Ahl as-Sunna wa-l-Jamā'a.<sup>3</sup>

Ar-Rustufaghni, another student of al-Māturīdī, said that an upright man saw Abū Naṣr al-'Iyāḍī in his dream, and in his hand there was a plate full of flowers, and in the other hand he had another plate, full of Fānīd. Al-'Iyāḍī gave the first one to al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, and the second one to al-Māturīdī. The latter was then graced with the science of truth, and al-Ḥakīm was graced with the science of wisdom.<sup>4</sup> It is not known when he was born; but he lived in Samarqand and received his education from al-Māturīdī and others such as Abū Bakr al-Warrāq the great

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1. Not to be confused with another Abū-l-Qāsim as-Samarqandī who was executed by Tamghack Khān. cf. Turk. p. 313.
  2. A.S. Tritton: 'An Early Work from the School of al-Māturīdī', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 96-99 (1966) Parts 3 & 4.
  3. Qand. p. 3; Turk. p. 267.
  4. Ansāb, p. 252.

mystic,<sup>1</sup> and that is why one notices a strain of mysticism in his writings and in his acknowledgment of the power of the Walīs. In his work As-Sawād al-A'zam, al-Ḥakīm says:

"One must confess to the miraculous power of the Walīs. He who denies the miraculous power of the Walīs is in error and a heretic.....The Walīs only attain this miraculous power through obedience to God (T) and obedience to His Apostle (SAAS), and if the Walīs have no miraculous power, then who is to have it?"<sup>2</sup>

Although there is no indication that he did a lot of travelling his name was celebrated everywhere, and his sayings were known and written in books.<sup>3</sup> He was the Qāḍi of Samarqand and his reputation while he held that office was very sound. Al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī died in 432/1040, eleven years after al-Māturīdī, and was buried beside his teacher in Jakardiza.<sup>4</sup>

## ii. His Works

### (a) As-Sawād-al-A'zam

A full description of this work is to be found in the introduction.

### (b) Bayān an al-Īmān, Juz' min al-'Amal.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Tabt. p. 63; Sulm, p. 219.

2. B.M. Art. 33. ff. 37<sup>b</sup>-40<sup>b</sup>.

3. Ansāb, p. 172.

4. Fawd. p. 44; Jar. 1/139; Tabt. p. 63; Ansāb, p. 172; Khiz. p. 50; Qand, pp. 3, 5, 20.

5. Sez. 1/606.

(c) 'Aqīdat al-Imām<sup>1</sup>

(d) Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to know if he wrote the last two works, owing to the fact that nobody has so far had access to them, even if they do in fact exist.

## 2. Abū-l-Layth al-Bukhārī (Abū 'Uṣma)

He was the same age as al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī. Nothing is known about him other than his being a student of al-Māturīdī and a colleague of al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī.<sup>3</sup>

## 3. Abū Aḥmad Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. al-'Abbās al-'Iyāḍī

This man has not been mentioned as a student of al-Māturīdī in any of the biographies of the Ḥanafī Madhhab. But the MS No. 1648 in as-Sulaymāniyya Library, Istanbul, entitled Jumal Uṣūl ad-Dīn, shows clearly that this assumption is justified. The folio No. 160 completes the story of Abū Naṣr al-'Iyāḍī, the father of Abū Aḥmad, and says that when Abū Naṣr was about to be executed he asked his son to go to Samarqand where he would find some friends whom he could rely on, such as al-Māturīdī, al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī and forty students. Abū Aḥmad told them what had happened to his father, and they set him in his father's place in the house of al-Juzajāniyya as a gesture of gratitude for their teacher, his father. Abū Maṣṣūr

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1. Kh. 2/1157.

2. Kh. 2/1287.

3. Fawd. f. 116; Tawḥīd Introd. p. 5; Ayyūb f. 283.

al-Māturīdī used to respect him and take good care of him. When al-Māturīdī died, al-‘Iyādī wished to study under Abū Sahl az-Zajjājī, but he decided against that because Abū Sahl az-Zajjājī was accused of being a Mu‘tazilite; so he studied instead under Abū Ja‘far al-Hindiwānī, the famous scholar and the teacher of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī. It is not known when he died, but it must have been about the year 362/972, because al-Hindiwānī died in that year.

Abū Aḥmad was a man of high renown, and was praised by many scholars. He was called "al-Faqīh al-Jalīl". Al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī said:

"No man has emerged from Khurāsān and Transoxiana for one hundred years like Abū Aḥmad al-‘Iyādī.

He is knowledgeable, learned (Faqīh) and religious."

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bajalī, the grandson of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr, (d. 264/877) said:

"The proof that the Madhhab of Abū Ḥanīfa is right is that Abū Aḥmad al-‘Iyādī was one of his followers, because Abū Aḥmad al-‘Iyādī would not have adopted it otherwise."<sup>1</sup>

It is not known whether he wrote any books or not.

#### 4. Abū-l-Hasan ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd ar-Rustufaghni

##### i. His Life

Some sources spell his name as ar-Rustughfanī,<sup>2</sup> but in Al-Ansāb and other works<sup>3</sup> he is mentioned as ar-Rustufaghni,

1. Juml. ff. 160-163; Fawd. p. 220; Jar. p. 2/192.

2. cf. Fawd. p. 65; Sez. 1/606.

3. cf. Ansāb p. 252; Jar. 2/310.

which is more correct since his town is called Rustufaghn. This town is a region in Samarqand. He is famous for the arguments he had with his teacher al-Māturīdī. When al-Māturīdī said that he who makes a mistake when trying to reach truth is wrong, ar-Rustufaghnī said that although hypothetically he may make a mistake, when doing so he is not wrong. Ar-Rustufaghnī transmitted from al-Māturīdī that the latter said: "God forgave a woman just because she listened to the prayer-call". Ar-Rustufaghnī's opinions have been presented by various writers. Ar-Rustufaghnī died in 345/956.<sup>1</sup>

## ii. His Works

Ar-Rustufaghnī is said to have written some books in theology and Fiqh.

### (a) Al-As'ila wa-l-Ajwiba

Fuat Sezgin says that this work exists in Murād Mulla Library, Istanbul, MS No. 1829. He adds that it begins on page 154<sup>a</sup> and ends on page 176<sup>b</sup>.<sup>2</sup> I went to the Murad Mulla Library in Istanbul and found that the whole description is right except that after examining the contents I found that ar-Rustufaghnī was the author of only two pages, and the rest is a completely different subject. The contents begins as follows:

[f.154<sup>a</sup>] "In the Name of God the Beneficent the Merciful; in Him we seek help. The Shaykh, the Imām, the esteemed 'Alī b. Sa'īd ar-Rustufaghnī (RAA) was asked about the unbelievers.....As for the angels,

1. Ansāb p.202; Fawd. 65; Jar 2/310.

2. Sez. 1/607.

God (T) made their pleasures and desires in  
obeying Him (A & J)"

[155<sup>b</sup>] The argument here changes to a new subject which differs completely, and the author talks about the Arabic grammar; and a few names such as Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), are quoted, and those scholars came after the death of ar-Rustufaghni.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Al-Irshād fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn

It is stated in Kashf az-Zunūn that this work is abridged in fuṣūl; but later on it gives another title to it, -Irshād al-Muhtadī fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn, and yet it is added that the real title of it is Irshād al-Muhtadī fī-l-Furū'.<sup>2</sup> Unless this work is examined the real title cannot be known. So far there has been no access to this work, although it is said to be extant in Berlin.<sup>3</sup>

(c) Az-Zawā'id wa-l-Fawā'id fī Anwā' al-'ulūm<sup>4</sup>

(d) Al-Fatawī<sup>5</sup>

(e) Al-Khilāf<sup>6</sup>

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1. Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sa'īd ar-Rustufaghni: Al-As'ila wa-l-Ajwiba, Istanbūl, MS No. 1829 ff. 154<sup>a</sup>-176<sup>b</sup>.
  2. Kh. 1/67, 1/70; Fawd. p. 65; Jar. 1/362.
  3. cf. Manuscript No. 1921. Ahlwardt W. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse Der Koniglichen Bibliothek. Berlin, 1889, 2/391.
  4. Kh. 2/1422; Fawd. p. 65; Jar. 1/362.
  5. Kh. 2/1223; Fawd. p. 65; Jar. 1/362.
  6. Fawd. p. 65.

5. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Mūsā b. 'Isā al-Pazdawī

He is one of al-Māturīdī's students, and the grandfather of the two scholars Fakhr al-Islām 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd-al-Karīm al-Pazdāwī (d. 482/1089)<sup>1</sup> and Abū-l-Yusr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd-al-Karīm al-Pazdāwī (d. 493/1099)<sup>2</sup> the author of Kitāb Uṣūl ad-Dīn. Al-Pazdāwī is from Pazda which is at six farsakhs' distance from Nasaf. The sources yield nothing more about him except that he died in 390/999.<sup>3</sup>

6. Abū-l-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm<sup>4</sup>  
as-Samarqandī

i. His Life

Before touching on Abū-l-Layth's life and work I should mention that I have not seen any source which might indicate that Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī was a direct student of al-Māturīdī although he lived at the same place and at the same period. One might suggest that Abū-l-Layth did not see eye to eye with al-Māturīdī, and that is why he did not study under him. Yet this suggestion cannot be sustained, because Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī adopts a similar attitude to that of al-Māturīdī, if not sometimes identical, and he quotes him often when dealing with some theological problems.<sup>5</sup>

1. Jar. 1/372; Fawd. p. 124.

2. Jar. 2/116; Fawd. p. 188.

3. Ansāb p. 89; Fawd. p. 101; Jar. 1/327.

4. Isma'il Pasha al-Baghdādī adds another grandfather to him - al-Khaṭṭāb. cf. Khiz. p. 18.

5. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī Qūt an-Nafs. Chester Beatty. MS No. 3717. ff. 1-26; Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar, ascribed to al-Māturīdī, but thought to be written by Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, Hyderabad 1948.



But it is more likely that Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī was too young when al-Māturīdī gave his lectures, or that al-Māturīdī was no longer able to teach when Abū-l-Layth reached maturity; so he decided to seek knowledge in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, we will study Abū-l-Layth because he lived in the same period in which al-Māturīdī and his students lived, and his ideas are related to those of al-Māturīdī and his first disciples. The ideas of both of them together constituted the first school of al-Māturīdī.

Abū-l-Layth was given the title "Imām al-Huda", a title which had only been given to his predecessor al-Māturīdī. In a short biography devoted to him in the MS No. 764 in the 'Irāqī Museum, entitled Khizānat al-Fiqh, yet another epithet was added to his name - ash-Sharīf.<sup>1</sup> But he seems to have liked being called "al-Faqih", because when he wrote his book Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn, he saw the Prophet in a dream handing him over his work, and saying to him, "Take your book, O Faqīh". He got up and found some parts of it erased. After that, he was known by this epithet, and used to seek blessing by it.<sup>2</sup>

Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī was born in Samarqand, died in Bukhāra, and was buried in Balkh beside the grave of his teacher al-Hindiwānī.<sup>3</sup> It is not known when he was born, and the year of his death is variously given as 373/983, 375/985, 383/993 and 393/1002. It is stated by some

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1. Khiz. p. 31.

2. Kaf. p.125.

3. Khiz. p. 13. Other sources say he died in Balkh, cf. Balkh. p. 311.

authors that he reached old age, and we can also say that he lived in the time of aṭ-Ṭā'i' (d. 381/991). Al-Balkhī said that light used to come out of his grave, and out of the grave of his teacher.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-l-Layth was a very active scholar; he wrote numerous books on various subjects. As appears from his writings, Abū-l-Layth was a faqīh, a theologian and a moralist. Arabic was not the only language he knew; he also knew Persian, and it seems from his writings that he mastered it. Some documents show that he translated some expressions from Hebrew into Arabic, but it is not certain whether they are mere translations, or whether they show that he had a thorough knowledge of the language itself.<sup>2</sup>

His writings show him as a conciliatory and tender-hearted man. One can conclude that he is a conciliator because in his works he tries to bridge every gap in the Islamic fabric. His criticism is not offensive, and he was not fanatical in his opinions. To such an extent is this so, that Mez finds it odd that although he is known for his indulgence, he refuses to accept that one can interpret the Qur'ān according to one's own opinion, but insists that one can only transmit what one has heard from the Imāms as a narration.<sup>3</sup> To show one example of his leniency, the following advice he gives may serve as a good example:

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1. Fawd. p. 312; Khiz. p. 13; Qand. p. 49; Kaf. f. 104; E.I. 1/98.

2. Khiz. pp. 50-51.

3. Mez. p. 324.

"One ought to be lenient when addressing people and one's face should be smiling with both the just and the unjust, the Sunnite and the heretic; without adulation and without doing anything which might lead him to think that one approves of the doctrines he holds. For God (T) said to Moses and Aaron: 'Speak to him (Pharaoh) with gentle words; he may yet take heed and fear our punishment.'<sup>1</sup> You are no better than Moses and Aaron, and the unjust one is no worse than Pharaoh."<sup>2</sup>

As for Abū-l-Layth's education, he received his education from his father and some other teachers, but the teacher that had the most influence on him was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allah b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Hindiwānī al-Faqīh al-Balkhī. He was called al-Hindiwānī because he came from a region in Balkh called Bāb Hindiwān. It was so called because the slaves and Jawārī, who were brought from India, lived there. Al-Hindiwānī received his education from Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'īd, known as al-A'mash. He was famous, and students came to study under him from everywhere. He was called Abū Ḥanīfa aṣ-Ṣaghīr. He died in Bukhārā in 362/972 at the age of sixty-two which means that he was born in 300/912. It is said that he wrote some works - 1. Kashf al-Ghawāmid or Sharḥ al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr fi-l-Furū' of Abū Muḥammad ash-Shaybānī.<sup>3</sup> 2. Fawā'id al-Fatāwī<sup>4</sup> These are two works

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1. Q. 20 vs. 44.

2. Khiz. p. 49.

3. Khiz. p. 19; Kh. 1/562-563.

4. Kh. 2/1300.

ascribed to him.<sup>1</sup>

There is an interesting story mentioned by al-Balkhī about how Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī came to meet al-Hindiwānī and to study under him. This story goes as follows:-

"When Abū-l-Layth wanted to leave Samarqand in order to seek knowledge, he passed Merv, and reached the River Oxus. When he arrived there he had a nap in which he dreamed that the Prophet said to him, 'Go to Abū Ja'far al-Hindiwānī in Balkh, and study under him.' When he woke up he set off for Balkh. He reached it after midnight and found that its gate was closed. Abū Ja'far al-Hindiwānī was the guard at that gate and he used to spend the money he earned there on learning, and he would pass his time (of duty) by memorising the Qur'ān and religious rituals. That particular night al-Hindiwānī was overcome by drowsiness, during which he dreamed that the Prophet said to him, Abū Ja'far, I asked Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī to study under you; wake up and open the gate of the city for him'. Al-Hindiwānī quickly woke up and opened the gate for Abū-l-Layth, who was astonished to find the gate opened so quickly for him, and he said to himself, 'What nice people are the inhabitants of this city! They did not let me wait long!' Al-Hindiwānī said, 'Peace be upon you, Abū-l-Layth.' Abū-l-Layth asked him, 'How did you know my name without meeting me before?' Al-Hindiwānī answered, 'I was told by the one who sent you

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1. Ansāb p. 593; Jar 2/68; Fawd. p. 179; Tabt. pp. 65-66. Balkh. pp. 299-300.

to me - Muhammad.' Then he welcomed him, and Abū-l-Layth studied under him along with al-Hindiwānī's numerous students.<sup>1</sup>

When Abū-l-Layth finished his studying he went again to Samarqand; then he came to Balkh again, where he taught for a while. Then he died in Bukhārā and was brought to Balkh where he was buried beside his teacher.<sup>2</sup>

## ii. His works

Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī wrote a lot of books, and many books were ascribed to him, but such ascriptions need to be examined. Some books were written by him, but were erroneously ascribed to other authors, and other works were wrongly ascribed to him. An account of Abū-l-Layth's works will be given later, but before doing so I would like to suggest some reasons for this wrong ascription. There are many scholars of the Ḥanafī school who were called Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, or simply Abū-l-Layth, and this sometimes led to this state of affairs. Two examples can be given here to illustrate what has been said:

1. There is a person called Naṣr Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī (d. 294/906) who preceded our Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī by some years. These two persons can be easily confused with each other, and the only difference between them is that our Abū-l-Layth is called Imām al-Hudā, whereas

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1. Balkh. pp. 311-316.

2. Balkh. p. 312; Tabt. p. 74.

the other person is called al-Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>1</sup>

2. Another Abū-l-Layth is Aḥmad b. Abī Ḥafṣ an-Nasafī (d. 553/1158). The Muqaddamat aṣ-Ṣalāt is sometimes wrongly ascribed to this Abū-l-Layth,<sup>2</sup> whereas the real author of this work is our Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī.

Another reason one may suggest is that some people for some reason find works the real authors of which they fail to discover, so they attribute them to famous writers probably to attract people to read them. The name of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī has been famous enough from the beginning of his scholarly career up to the present day<sup>3</sup> to encourage others to ascribe these works to him. An example of this is a work entitled Hāshiyat ad-Dusūqī 'alā Sharḥ Abī-l-Layth as-Samarqandī 'alā ar-Risāla al-'Aḍudiyya lil-Qāḍi 'Aḍud ad-Dīn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad. This alleged Sharḥ cannot have been written by Abū-l-Layth, because 'Aḍud ad-Dīn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad died in 756/1355, and Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī died four centuries before him. So how could Abū-l-Layth make a commentary on a work which was written four centuries after his death?<sup>4</sup>

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1. Fawd. p. 221; Jar. 2/196.

2. Fawd. p. 29.

3. One of the teachers of the religious school in Bukhārā which follows the Muslim religious board of the Republic of Uzbekistan told me that Kitāb Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī is still taught in that school.

4. Hāshiyat Muḥammad ad-Dusūqī al-Mālkī 'alā Sharḥ al-Muḥaqqiq Abī-l-Layth as-Samarqandī 'alā ar-Risāla al-'Aḍudiyya by 'Aḍud ad-Dīn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, Cairo, 1275/1858.

The editor of Kitāb Tadhkirat al-Awliyā' shares with me this opinion in his edition of this work which is ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī.<sup>1</sup>

A few of as-Samarqandī's works have been published, but most of them are still in manuscripts. One can divide his works into five topics:

1. Fiqh.
2. Qur'ān Exegesis.
3. Morals and Ethics.
4. Theology.
5. Miscellaneous.

1. Fiqh

(a) Khizanat al-Fiqh.

This work was edited by Dr. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn an-Nāḥī and published in Baghdād in 1965.

(b) 'Uyūn al-Masā'il, edited by Dr. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn an-Nāḥī, published in Baghdād in 1967.

(c) Mukhtalaf ar-Riwāya

An-Nāḥī suggests that this work was not written by Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī because at the beginning of the manuscript which he examined, it is stated that this work was written by as-Samarqandī, without giving full details of his name; an-Nāḥī therefore maintains that this work was written by 'Alā' ad-Dīn as-Samarqandī, who is known to

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1. Ebu 'l-Leys Semerkandī. Tezkiretu 'l-Evliyā (Tercümesi)  
 Edited by Dr. Selāhattin Olcay pp. 1-17, Ankara 1965.

have written a work which bears the same title.<sup>1</sup> This might be a sound suggestion, but it is certainly not a conclusive one; for one should consult the other manuscripts of the same work, especially those which exist in the British Museum, and in the Bibliothèque National (No. 825). Contrary to what an-Nāhī says, they clearly have the name of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī as the author of this work.<sup>2</sup>

(d) An-Nawāzil

In this work, Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī brings the ideas of eight Faqīhs of the Ḥanafites together. They are Muḥammad b. Shujā' ath-Thaljī, Muḥammad b. Muqātil ar-Rāzī, Muḥammad b. Salama, Nuṣayr b. Yahya, Muḥammad b. Salām, Abū Bakr al-Iskāf, 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Fārisī and Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allah.<sup>3</sup> In Istanbul there is a manuscript which bears the following title - Al-Fatāwī min Aqāwīl al-Mashāyikh.<sup>4</sup> Although this manuscript bears a different title the contents of the two manuscripts seem to be the same.

(e) Al-Fatāwī

It is not known whether this work is the same as Al-Fatāwī min Aqāwīl al-Mashāyikh or a different one. This

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1. Khiz. pp. 34-35.

2. Kh. 2/1636; Sez. 1/450.

3. Kh. 2/1981; Fawd. p. 220; Jar. 2/196.

4. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī: Al-Fatāwī min Aqāwīl al-Mashāyikh, 2 vols., Istanbul, Fatih MSS. Nos. 2352 and 2353.



work, however, is mentioned only as Al-Fatāwī.<sup>1</sup>

(f) Muqaddamat aṣ-Ṣalāt

This work is sometimes wrongly ascribed to Abū-l-Layth an-Nasafī.<sup>2</sup> Without giving any details about its publication, an-Nāhī says that this work has been printed.<sup>3</sup> In Kashf az-Zunūn this work was praised, and it was widely read among people, many of whom benefitted from it. This work was commented on several times, one commentator being Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn b. Muṣṭafa b. Zakariyya b. Āy Toghmarsh al-Qaramānī (d. 809/1406) who called it At-Tawdīḥ - Elucidation. He took it with him to Egypt, but unfortunately for him, some envious people distorted his commentary, and he was accused of degrading Ibrāhīm. When he found himself in danger of being killed, he fled from Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

(g) Sharḥ al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr<sup>5</sup>

(h) Khizānat al-Akmāl

The only reference to this work as having been written by Abū-l-Layth is given in Tāj at-Tarājim, but later on the author of the latter says that it is also attributed to another author, Yūsuf al-Jurjānī.<sup>6</sup>

(i) An-Nawādir, or Nawādir Fiqhiyya<sup>7</sup>

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1. Fawd. p. 220; Kh. 2/1220.

2. Fawd. p. 29.

3. Khiz. p. 36.

4. Kh. 2/1795.

5. Fawd. p. 220; Jar. 2/196.

6. Tāj. pp. 241, 82.

7. Tāj. p. 77; Fawd. p. 215; Kh. 2/1980.

- (j) Ḥaṣr al-Masā'il fī-l-Furū'<sup>1</sup>
- (k) Muqaddima fi-l-Fiqh, or Risāla fi-l-Fiqh<sup>2</sup>
- (l) Qūt an-Nafs fī Ma'arif al-Arkān al-Khams<sup>3</sup>
- (m) Sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr<sup>4</sup>
- (n) Mabsūṭ Abī-l-Layth<sup>5</sup>
- (o) Ta'sīs an-Nazar, or Ta'sīs al-Fiqh<sup>6</sup>
- (p) Tuḥfat al-Anām fī Manāqib al-A'imma al-Arba'a al-A'lām<sup>7</sup>
- (q) Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Qadūrī

It is doubtful whether Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī wrote this work because Abū-l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qadūrī al-Baghdādī, who is supposed to be the subject of this commentary, died in 428/1036 while Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī died before this time. Even Ḥajjī Khalīfa, from whom this information has been received, says that this work might have been written by Abū Bakr 'Alā' ad-Dīn b. Muḥammad as-Samarqandī (d. 552/1157).<sup>8</sup>

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- 1. Kh. 1/668.
  - 2. Khiz. p. 36; Sez. 1/450.
  - 3. Sez. 1/450.
  - 4. Kh. 1/567.
  - 5. Kh. 2/1580.
  - 6. Kh. 1/334; Sez. 1/450.
  - 7. Sez. 1/450.
  - 8. Kh. 2/1634.

## 2. Morals and Ethics

(a) Bustān al-‘Ārifīn. This work was printed in Cairo in 1959.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn. This work was printed several times, once in 1959.

(c) Daqā’iq al-Akḥbār fī Bayān Dhikr Ahl al-Janna wa-n-Nār. This work is extant in manuscript in the Chester-Beatty Library (No. 3674). It is entitled Daqā’iq al-Akḥbār fī ‘Ilm at-Taṣawwuf. The work seems to be incomplete, and I doubt whether this work has been written by Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, because there is no indication at the beginning of it that it is his work, and there is no mention of him at all in the whole manuscript.<sup>2</sup> Yale University Catalogue ascribes it to an anonymous writer, and says that it is sometimes ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī. It adds that the work is a tract on the creation of man and the angels, on death, and on the next world. It contains seventy folios.<sup>3</sup> However, a work which bears the same title was published in Cairo, but it is not ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, but to ‘Abd-ar-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Qādī. It contains 46 "Bāb" all

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1. I bought a copy of this manuscript from Istanbul in 1973. It is written by Firḥād al-Kafawī, known as Abū ‘Abd-‘Allāh, and dated 931/1524.
  2. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī: Daqā’iq al-Akḥbār, Chester-Beatty Library MS. No. 3674, Part 2 folios 26-32.
  3. Leon Nemoy: Arabic Manuscript in the Yale University Library, Denmark, n.d. p. 89.

devoted to creation, death and a full description of what happens to the dead man after his death, and finally it deals with Hell and Heaven.<sup>1</sup>

(d) Faḍā'il Shahr Ramaḍān<sup>2</sup>

(e) Qurrat al-'Uyūn wa Mufriḥ al-Qalb al-Maḥzūn

This work was printed several times, once on the margin of Ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iq by Shu'ayb al-Hurayfīsh.<sup>3</sup>

(f) (A piece of) Maslak al-Wā'iḏīn wa Manhaj ar-Rāghibīn<sup>4</sup>

(g) Ustādh al-'Arifīn<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Theological Works

(a) 'Umdat al-Haqā'iq<sup>6</sup>

(b) Shar' al-Islām<sup>7</sup>

(c) Risāla fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn<sup>8</sup>

(d) Risāla fī-l-Īmān, or

(e) Risāla fī-l-Ma'rifa wa-l-Īmān<sup>9</sup>

(f) Al-Ma'arif fī Sharḥ aṣ-Ṣaḥā'if<sup>10</sup>

(g) Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar

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1. 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm al-Qāḍī: Daqā'iq al-Akḥbār fī Dhikr Ahl al-Janna wa-n-Nār, Cairo, 1971.

2. Khiz. p. 42.

3. Shu'ayb al-Hurayfīsh: Ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iq fī-l-Mawā'iḏ wa-r-Raqā'iq, Cairo, 1949.

4. Brok. Supp; 1/348; Sez. 1/450.

5. Khiz. p. 43.

6. Khiz. p. 43.

7. Sez. 1/450.

8. Brok. Supp.1/348.

9. Khiz. p. 161; Sez. 1/450.

10. Sez. 1/450.

This work is sometimes ascribed to Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī,<sup>1</sup> although some writers tend to rule out this possibility, for example Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, who says that it was written by Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī.<sup>2</sup> Wensinck says that this work was written by an author whose thought goes back chiefly to al-Māturīdī.<sup>3</sup> Hajjī Khalīfa, however, ascribes Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar to al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī, but it is not known whether he means this same work or another one.<sup>4</sup>

(h) Mas'ala: Hal al-Īmān Makhlūq aw Ghayr Makhlūq?<sup>5</sup>

This work is wrongly ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī. A full description of it is to be found in the appendix to this thesis.

(i) Asrār al-Waḥy or Asrār al-Wajh<sup>6</sup>

(j) Bayān 'Aqīdat al-Uṣūl

This is a short treatise about some theological problems. The Indian Office's copy lacks the last line,<sup>7</sup> but the Berlin copy is complete.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī: Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar, Hyderabad, 1948.

2. Abū Ḥanīfa; Al-ʿĀlim wa-l-Mutaʿallim, edited by Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo, 1368 A.H.

3. M.C. pp. 122-123.

4. Kh. 2/1287.

5. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī: Mas'ala Hal al-Īmān Makhlūq aw Ghayr Makhlūq?, Brit. Mus. MS No. Add 9509.

6. Brok. 1/210; Sez. 1/450.

7. MS. No. 381.

8. MS. No. 1945.

#### 4. Qur'ān Exegesis

##### Tafsīr al-Qur'ān

This work is a very famous one and is extant in many libraries.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. Miscellaneous

##### (a) Risāla fī-l-Hikam<sup>2</sup>

##### (b) Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'

This work is ascribed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, and was edited by Şalah Attin Olcay. The editor is not sure whether it belongs to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī or not, because it is only attributed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī on the first page, without there being any reference to it in any of the biographies, or anywhere else.

The work was originally written in Persian, and was translated into Turkish in the 15th Century. For lack of evidence the editor accepted it as having been written by Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī.<sup>3</sup>

##### (c) Al-Laṭā'if al-Mustakhraja min Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī<sup>4</sup>

(d) A manuscript about the Prophet and the Arabic Months.<sup>5</sup>

This is a general survey of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī's books, and these works need an intensive work aimed at

1. Fawd. p. 220. Jar. 2/196.

2. Sez. 1/450.

3. Ebu'l-Leys Semerkandi: Tezkiretu 'l-Evliya (Tercümesi), edited by Dr. Selāhattin Olcay, pp. 1-17; Ankara 1965.

4. Sez. 1/450.

5. Brit. Mus. OR 6246.

locating and editing them, otherwise the doubts about the authenticity of his works will remain unsolved. There are many commentaries written on his various works.

## 2. Al-Māturīdī and al-Ash'arī

The schools of al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī both aimed at defending the doctrine of Ahl as-Sunna wa-l-Jamā'a, and both tried to save Islam from the antagonism which characterised the period they lived in. They did not agree on everything. Their differences have been numerated by some scholars as thirteen, six of which are differences in ideas (Ma'ānī), and seven in expression (Lafz). Generally, however, the rift between them is not drastic, and although at the beginning their feelings were bitter they tended to agree with each other later on.<sup>1</sup>

Having acknowledged the importance of al-Māturīdī and his school, one cannot escape a persistent question as to why al-Māturīdī was overshadowed by al-Ash'arī. This happened in spite of the fact that many scholars belong to al-Māturīdī's school, and some of al-Ash'arī's students disagreed with al-Ash'arī himself in some points and agreed with al-Māturīdī.<sup>2</sup> An example of the manner in which al-Māturīdī was not given the appropriate attention as the head of his school, is that he is not mentioned in the early sources. Al-Māturīdī was not mentioned by Ibn an-Nadīm in Al-Fihrist, nor by Ibn Khallikān in his book, Wafayāt al-A'yān, nor by Ibn Khaldūn in the chapter he devoted to Kalām in Al-Muqaddama.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Macdonald, D.B., Māturīdī E.I. 3/414; Ayyūb 'Alī, Māturīdism H.M.P. 1/259-274. Tritton, A.S. Muslim Theology, London 1947, pp. 174-176.

2. Tawhīd Introd. p. 25.

3. Tawhīd Introd. p. 8; Khalid. pp. 384-392; Watt pp. 312-313.





In general, Al-Ash'arī has attracted more attention from the scholars and biographers than has al-Māturīdī. So much so that the Ḥanafite biographers aided the eclipse of al-Māturīdī, and did not give enough information about his school.

In an attempt to know why al-Ash'arī had preference over al-Māturīdī, some scholars have tried to give various suggestions. Khuleif<sup>1</sup> holds the view that, contrary to the Māturīdites, who lived in Transoxiana, the Ash'arites lived in Baghdād, the centre of science, which led to their being more known than the Māturīdites, and also made their ideas more exposed to criticism than the ideas of the Māturīdites.<sup>2</sup> In Ayyūb 'Alī's opinion, that is also why the Māturīdites could not contribute to the theological discussions as much as the Ash'arites, who were faced with severe criticism from several schools, so that they were led to fend for themselves by developing new arguments and subsequently to achieve more fame than the Māturīdites. Another reason Ayyūb gives is that al-Māturīdī completed his arguments and left no issues for his students to discuss; so they followed his teachings without inventing new arguments. This is in contrast to al-Ash'arī who left his school incomplete; so his students naturally tried to

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1. Tawhīd Introd. p. 10.

2. According to Watt, this remoteness from the centre of science in Baghdad made them unknown until the Ḥanafites gained more importance in the Central Islamic lands through the support of the Seljuqs and the Ottomans. cf. Watt, p. 313.

complete it, and give new dimensions to it, and this is another reason for their being famous.<sup>1</sup>

With some reservation, one might accept these suggestions, but one must doubt the one which says that al-Māturīdī completed the whole theological argument and left no space for his students. My reservation is that thought is not static, and the more one discusses rational problems the more one finds new arguments in one's discussions. Furthermore, the students of al-Māturīdī did not agree with all their tutor put forward, either when he was alive or after his death.<sup>2</sup>

At any rate, one may suggest other reasons for the preference of al-Ash'arī over al-Māturīdī. It is worth noting that the style in which al-Māturīdī wrote his works was very complicated and abstract.<sup>3</sup> This obscurity in his works may have discouraged scholars from giving due attention to him, or at least, as much attention as they gave to al-Ash'arī, whose works - for example, Al-Luma' or Kitāb al-Ibāna are not as difficult to understand as At-Tawhīd of al-Māturīdī. This vagueness of al-Māturīdī in expressing his ideas made some scholars doubt that he had written At-Ta'wīlāt, and they attributed it to his

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1. Ayyūb pp. 462-466.

2. Tawhīd Introd. p. 25; Jar. 2/310.

3. Uṣūl Introd. p. 3. Allard. M. Le problème des attributs divins dans la Doctrine d'al-Ash'arī et de ses premiers grand disciple. Beirut 1965. p. 422.

students, since it is written in a less complicated way.<sup>1</sup>

Another reason for this attention paid to al-Ash'arī, but not to al-Māturīdī, was that the former was recognised by most scholars as the defender of the faith at that time.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, al-Māturīdī was even deprived of his status as the head of his school. Some sources call his school "Al-Ahnāf", i.e. the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa,<sup>3</sup> while others name the school of Samarqand after al-Juzajānī and al-'Iyāḍī, the teachers of al-Māturīdī.

We read in Al-Jumal :-

"In every country the Ahl as-Sunna wa-l-Jamā'a are known. In Samarqand they are called al-Juzajaniyya and al-'Iyāḍiyya."<sup>4</sup>

From this, one infers that al-Māturīdī was eclipsed by the reputation of the great Imām Abū Ḥanīfa and his two teachers al-Juzajānī and al-'Iyāḍī.

These are some opinions added to the reasons given above for the overshadowing of al-Māturīdī by al-Ash'arī.

Nevertheless, al-Māturīdī began to become known after the editing of two of his works, At-Tawḥīd and At-Ta'wīlāt; and the studies carried out on him and his students. There is no doubt that the future will bring more information about this great man and his school.

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1. Ta'wīlāt. Introd. pp. 16-22.

2. Shadh. 2/303-305; Mez. p. 331.

3. Subk. 2/264-265.

4. Juml. f. 121.

PART II

As-Sawād al-A'ẓam

1. Introduction to As-Sawad al-A'ẓam.
2. Comparison between al-Māturīdī and al-Ḥakīm.  
folio No. 2<sup>a</sup> of B.M.  
folios No. 2<sup>a</sup> - 2<sup>b</sup> of B.N.
3. The translation of the text.

# 1. Introduction to As-Sawād al-A'zam

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A. Unlike the books of sects, which usually present the famous Tradition "The Children of Israel split into seventy sects ... my Community will split into seventy-three sects, all of them will be summoners of error and heads of dissension ... except the Greater Company as-Sawād al-A'zam", and then they start to enumerate and describe the misguided ones, al-Ḥakīm was concerned with the guided one and did not touch on the creeds of other sects unless he wanted to compare them with the guided one. He put down sixty-two articles of belief (Khuṣṣa) which he considered to be the basis of including anyone in as-Sawād al-A'zam - the title of his work.

B. It is worth noting that there is a big difference between the style in which this work was written and that in which at-Tawḥīd of al-Māturīdī was written. The style of al-Māturīdī was too complicated, and sometimes it is difficult to understand what he wanted to say, but the style of al-Ḥakīm, at least as evident from as-Sawād al-A'zam, is easy to understand. Probably al-Ḥakīm wanted to simplify the creed which his teacher held by putting it down in clear articles.

C. In his work, al-Ḥakīm takes the views of Muslim sects such as the Mu'tazilites, Rafīdites, Qadarites, Karrāmites, Jabrites, etc., and contrasts them with the ideas of Ahl-as-Sunna wa-l-jamā'a, which he upheld zealously. He also

touches on some ideas of <sup>Christian sects</sup> ~~the non-Muslim sects in~~  
~~Christianity — Zoroastrianism, etc.~~ and he sometimes  
 cites parables and stories narrated about Jesus Christ,  
 Moses, etc., in order to support his views.

D. This work can serve as a good document in favour of  
 those who maintained that the 3/9 - 4/10 centuries witnessed  
 the emergence of theological works as a branch of science  
 distinct from fiqh after serving under its sovereignty for  
 a long time. Yet these theological works could not  
 completely dissociate themselves from fiqh,<sup>1</sup> for one notices  
 in them a lot of legal opinions which appear now and then.  
 For example, al-Hakīm touches on the following subjects:  
 that the wiping of the shoes is valid as a substitute for  
 ablution (wuḍū') both when settled and when travelling;  
 believing that the witr is three rak'a with one greeting  
taslīma; that the uncleanness of the Imām entails the  
 uncleanness of the people praying behind him; that the  
 washing of the feet after <sup>wiping</sup> ~~removing~~ the shoes <sup>is unnecessary, and</sup> the performing  
 of ablution with a small quantity of still water is invalid,  
 and that the wiping of the shoes is to be repeated if the  
 ablution becomes invalid. Al-Māturīdī took resort to the  
 same method in K. at-Ta'wīlāt.<sup>2</sup>

E. It is worth noting that al-Hakīm as-Samarqandī put  
 forward an epistemological theory to make a distinction

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1. Mez. p. 313.

2. Cf. Ta'wīlat, pp. 208, 262.

between the intellect which the prophets have and that which all human beings have. He maintains that minds are not equal, and that they are categorized in a hierarchical order. At the top there is the noble mind, which belongs uniquely to Muhammad and which God has given to no angel or human being. After that comes the prophetic mind, in which no human being has a share but which is the distinctive endowment of the prophets, who all have it equally. Then comes the God-given mind, in which the unbelievers have no part but which all the believers have equally. After that comes the preserving mind, which is possessed by knowledge seekers who endeavour to acquire knowledge, and the more one studies the more knowledge one acquires. The lowest category of mind is that which is shared equally by all creation; this type of mind is called the instinctive mind.

Obviously this theory runs counter to the views of some sects and thinkers who came before him. Al-Fārābī, for example, who was his contemporary, considered it possible for the human mind to reach the rank of the prophetic mind, or, as he says: "It is not impossible that when a man's imaginative power reaches perfection, so that he receives in his waking life from the Active Intelligence (the Transcendent Intelligence) a knowledge of present and future facts or of their sensible symbols, and also receives the symbols of immaterial intelligibles and of the higher immaterial existents, and, indeed, sees all these, it is not impossible that he becomes a prophet given news of the

Divine Realm ... This is the highest degree of perfection a man can reach with his imaginative power".<sup>1</sup> This idea of al-Fārābī is in contrast to that of al-Ḥakīm in many ways, but our concern here is with the idea that it is not feasible for man to reach the prophetic mind, let alone the noble mind of Muḥammad. In so doing, al-Ḥakīm was in alliance with the Karrāmites<sup>2</sup> against the philosophers and other people who believed it possible for man to reach prophecy, but it is more likely that he meant the extreme mystics who claimed that they possessed intellects superior to those of the prophets, for in another article of his work he says: "One must know that the status of the prophets in the sight of God (T) is higher and more excellent than the status of the Walīs. Thus he who says that the Walīs have a status which the prophets do not have, or says that the Walīs have a status like that of the prophets, is a heretic and in error".<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the views mentioned above, al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī discusses other theological problems such as

1. Quoted from al-Madīna al-Fādila. cf. F. Raḥmān, Prophecy in Islam, Philosophy and Orthodoxy, London, 1958, pp.37-38.
2. Al-Isfarā'īni, Abū-l-Muẓaffar. At-Tabṣīr fi ad-Dīn wa Tamyīz al-Firqa an-Najīya 'an al-Firqa al-Hālikīn, edited by M.Z. al-Kawtharī, Cairo, 1940/1359, p. 68. 'Alī Sāmī an-Nashshār, Nash'at al-Fikr al-Falsafī fi-l-Islām, 3rd edition, 2 vols., Cairo, 1965, 1/635. Some sources say that the Karrāmites believe that the Walī can reach the status of a prophet. See al-Mīnawī 'Abd-ar-Ra'ūf. Al-Kawākib ad-Durriyya fī Tarājim aṣ-Ṣūfiyya, Cairo 1938, 1/14.
3. B.M. ff. 36<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup>. Article No. 32.



intercession, sirat, balance, the Prophet's Night Journey, etc. He also puts forward ethical arguments, such as that one should not depart this life without compensating those whom one might have wronged, and he cautions people against not working to gain their livelihood, maintaining that work is obligatory unless one has an excuse.

These are the important points which al-Ḥakīm touched on in his work and which show that he was following the same line as his teacher did. One finds that this work is one of the oldest documents about the school of al-Māturīdī. Although it sheds fresh light on that school, it gives hardly any new argument to establish differences between the school of al-Ash'arī and that of al-Māturīdī. It must be borne in mind that al-Ḥakīm did not always agree with al-Māturīdī on some issues, for all through his work al-Ḥakīm refused to explain the ambiguous verses which might lead to anthropomorphism, such as coming, going, etc.; we find that al-Ḥakīm says: "One must not ascribe to God location, or speak of His presence, or of His coming and going, or describe Him by anything resembling created things, because the perfection of faith is that one should know and strive to know God but not to know in Him modality".<sup>1</sup>

Al-Māturīdī, on the other hand, follows the same line and does not try to explain the meaning of verses which might lead to a resemblance between God and man. However, when he touches on this particular subject "coming", he maintains that God ascribed coming to Himself but that this

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1. B.M. ff. 45<sup>b</sup> - 55<sup>b</sup>, Article 47.

coming would by no means resemble that which is performed by human beings. In other words, both of them maintained that God does not resemble human beings, but al-Ḥakīm refrained from speaking about God as coming and going, while al-Māturīdī asserted this.<sup>1</sup>

Another difference is that al-Ḥakīm maintains that the Night Journey of the Prophet, and his ascent to the heavens, are a reality, and that the Prophet saw Hell-fire, Paradise, and the black-eyed Houris; and he accuses as heretics those who concede that the Prophet reached Jerusalem but deny his ascension or even suspend judgment on this question.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Māturīdī, on the other hand, maintains that the Prophet reached Jerusalem, but he does not confirm the reports concerning the details of his ascension because they are āḥād and thus not fully supported. However, he agrees with Abū Bakr's statement, "If he (Muḥammad) has said it, I believe him".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tawḥīd, pp. 53, 76-7. al-Māturīdī Ta'wīlāt, Sūra 50, vs. 16. Berlin MS. No. Or. fol. 4156.
  2. B.M. ff. 28<sup>b</sup> - 29<sup>b</sup>, Article 17; folio 32<sup>a</sup>, Article 22.
  3. Al-Māturīdī, Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Sūra al-Isrā'; Q. 17 vss. 1-2-3. Berlin MS. No. Or. fol. 4156.

## 2. Comparison between al-Māturīdī and al-Ḥakīm

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Both the teacher, al-Māturīdī, and his student, al-Ḥakīm, tried to reconcile the differing groups of Islam which went to one extreme or the other. Both of them, as appears from their works, agreed on the fundamental issues such as faith, God's attributes, man's actions, etc. In so doing, they formed the first basic doctrines of the Māturīdites.<sup>1</sup> A comparison between them may serve as a good example in this respect. This comparison will touch on the following subjects:

- A. Faith.
- B. The Divine attributes.
- C. The Beatific vision.
- D. The Throne.
- E. The relation between God and human actions.

### A. Faith

#### 1. The conditional confession of faith (istithnā')

In al-Māturīdī's opinion the istithnā', namely saying "I am a believer if God wills", is not permissible because

1. Mustafiz ar-Raḥmān maintains that the school of al-Māturīdī was not known as al-Māturīdiyya until the 8/14 century when Ibn Faḍl Allah al-'Umri, who died in 741/1340, mentioned them in his work Masālik al-Abṣar fi Mamālik al-Amṣār, in which he says: "The Imām Abu Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī is the leader of the whole Community, ... his exalted personality, unsurpassed forcefulness and indomitable power for defending and upholding the cause of ahl-as-Sunna with cogent arguments and conclusive evidence, exasperated the Mu'tazilites who used to term the ahl-as-Sunna after him and the followers of Imām Abu Hanīfa in 'aqā'id and uṣūl the Māturīdiyya". cf. Must. ff. 153-4.

this means uncertainty on the part of the believer, and God warned against this when He said: "The true believers are only those who believed in God and His Messenger, and afterwards wavered not".<sup>1</sup> Faith is not a temporal thing, it is permanent; and this is why it is not allowable to make the exception. The istithnā' would invalidate the testimony, contracts and promises, etc.; so would it do to faith. The istithnā' would usually be uttered when one was embarrassed (when asked to do something), but this embarrassment would not be applicable because, if one did not believe in God, one would <sup>brought to a reckoning hereafter</sup> ~~be reckoned with~~. Al-Māturīdī puts forward another argument, i.e. if someone says that by uttering the istithnā' he does not necessarily mean that he has doubts in respect of faith, this is because God mentioned the istithnā' in the Qur'ān and did not mean anything doubtful in connection with it. God said: "You shall enter secure the sacred mosque if God wills".<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad did enter the sacred mosque, and that was certain though the istithnā' was mentioned by God. Al-Māturīdī has this to say in reply to such a suggestion: this argument is not sound because God mentioned the words "maybe", "perhaps", and "would it be" when He meant to speak about things with certainty. Furthermore, God may have taught the Prophet to say the istithnā' when he was making a promise. God said: "Do not say of anything 'I will do it tomorrow' without

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1. Q. 49 vs. 15.

2. Q. 48 vs. 27.

adding 'if God wills'.<sup>1</sup> "I will do" and "I will enter" mean the same thing.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Hakīm, on the other hand, followed the example of his teacher. He says that one should not have doubts in respect of one's faith, for God said: "The true believers are only those who believed in God and His Messenger and afterwards wavered not".<sup>3</sup> In certain legal principles (aḥkām) if a man says to his wife, "You are divorced if God wills", or to his slave, "You are free if God wills", or if he says, "I will bind myself to do such and such if God wills" or "I have bought or have sold if God wills", then nothing is binding on him, because it makes all these formulae invalid and, similarly, it makes faith invalid. Al-Hakīm, in a rational argument, suggests that this statement "if God wills" is contradictory. He asks the one who makes the exception whether, by so saying, he means that God willed it in the past that he become a believer, or is now willing it that he should be a believer. The istithnā' would be pointless if God willed it in the past, because he is making an unnecessary statement, but if he means that God is now willing that he should be a believer, this would mean that he had been a believer without the will of God.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Q. 18 vss. 23-4.

2. Tawhīd, pp. 388-92. Ta'wīlāt, pp. 20, 310.

3. Q. 49 vs. 15.

4. B.M. ff. 6<sup>b</sup> - 9<sup>a</sup>. Article 1.

## 2. Faith is inner conviction and verbal confession

Al-Māturīdī seems to place more emphasis on the inner conviction than on the verbal confession. In K. at-Tawhīd and K. at-Ta'wīlāt, al-Māturīdī showed more interest in the inner conviction because, as he put it, "The heart is where faith is". From a Qur'ānic point of view, al-Māturīdī argues that God said: "The Arabs of the desert declare: 'We are true believers'. Say: You are not. Rather say: 'We profess Islam', for faith has not yet found its way into your hearts".<sup>1</sup> Their faith is invalid because it did not enter their hearts.

From a rational point of view, al-Māturīdī argues that religions are believed in. One believes in one's heart, not with one's tongue, for one can have no tongue and yet still believe in God and the prophets.

Nevertheless, he who confesses faith with his tongue, in al-Māturīdī's opinion, is to be treated as a Muslim in respect of aḥkām.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī agrees with al-Māturīdī that faith is held in the heart, but he accentuates the importance of the confession with the tongue more than al-Māturīdī does.

He says that the tongue is of no value without the heart. Faith is the knowledge of God in the heart in respect of His Godhead, His lordship and His oneness. This is monotheism (tawhīd). In al-Ḥakīm's opinion, further, he who knows God in his heart but does not confess this with his tongue is an unbeliever.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Q. 49 vs. 14.

2. Tawhīd, pp. 373-81. Ta'wīlāt, pp. 44, 47, 290.

3. B.M. ff. 52<sup>b</sup> - 53<sup>a</sup>. Article 44.

### 3. The sinning believer

Al-Māturīdī and al-Hakīm are in full agreement that the sinner, even when committing grave sins, is still counted as a believer. He is not a figurative believer or, as the Mu'tazilites said, in an intermediate state between faith and unbelief (fi manzilatayn bayn al manzilatayn). Al-Māturīdī says that people have differed about the sinners of this Community; they have labelled them as unbelievers, polytheists, neither believers nor unbelievers, hypocrites, believers, fāsiqs, etc. Al-Māturīdī maintains that those who commit grave sins among the people of this Community will be pardoned if they show repentance. He refused to call them unbelievers because the customary usage of unbelief (kufr) in Arabic is the same as disbelief (takdhīb), but the one who commits grave sins does not practise takdhīb because he believes in God, hopes for His forgiveness and fears His punishment. Thus it is not appropriate to call him an unbeliever.

God called the sinners believers and did not deprive them of that name even when they committed sins. For instance, God said: "Is it not time for true believers to submit to God's warning?"<sup>1</sup> They did not submit to God's warning, yet God called them believers.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Hakīm follows the same teachings as those of his teacher. He says that one should not call any person among the people of the Qibla an unbeliever through his sinning.

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1. Q. 57 vs. 16.

2. Tawhīd, pp. 323-65. Ta'wīlāt, pp. 73, 115, 179, 290.

The believer should not be called an unbeliever when he commits grave sins, just as the unbeliever cannot be called a believer when he performs all acts of obedience. God would not have called the sinners believers if they had disbelieved through sinning. God said: "O you who believe, repent to God sincerely".<sup>1</sup> Had they disbelieved, He would have said "O unbelievers, repent to God".

These are some of the arguments which show the similarity between the ideas of al-Māturīdī and those of al-Hakīm as-Samarqandī concerning faith. Along with these arguments, one can find some other points in their works in respect of faith, e.g. faith is independent of action, a believer who died unrepentant of grave sins would not remain in hell for ever, and other points like these.

## B. The Divine attributes

### 1. The affirmation of God's attributes without anthropomorphism

Al-Māturīdī and al-Hakīm were in full agreement concerning the Divine attributes. They were against the Mu'tazilites, who maintained that God is one, eternal, absolute and unique being, having no touch of pluralism or dualism in Him. Yet they refused to ascribe any attribute to Him apart from His essence, and His essence is self-contained. On the other hand, they were against the Anthropomorphists (mushabbiha) who took the attributes of God, which were mentioned in the Qur'ān, in their literal sense.

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1. Q. 66 vs. 8.



Al-Māturīdī refuted the views of the Mu'tazilites by maintaining that it is futile to ascribe attributes to God and then to make them devoid of every meaning, otherwise any attribute can be ascribed to Him.

Furthermore, when one says "God is wise", one must mean that He possesses the quality of wisdom. So one must attribute to God the attributes due to Him and this attribution would not, by any means, support the doctrines of the Anthropomorphists because one should have a firm belief in the unity of God and should apply the principle of tanzīh on the one hand and the doctrine of mukhālafa on the other.

The principle of tanzīh means freeing the attributes of God from every resemblance which might be drawn between Him and mortals. As for the doctrine of mukhālafa, one should understand any attribute ascribed to God as being a unique quality, which one would not mean if one applied this attribute to a created being. For example, when we say "God is knowing", we also add to this "but not like the knowing (learned), and His knowledge is not like our knowledge".<sup>1</sup>

Al-Hakīm pursues the same line as his teacher did in affirming the attributes of God without asserting a resemblance between God (T) and any other things. He maintains that the Creator is not to be likened to the created, just as the maker (of anything) is not to be likened to what he makes or to the way he makes it. If it is not right that man should resemble what he makes, then much less

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1. Tawhīd, pp. 93-6. Must. ff. 86-8.

should God resemble His creation and what He makes. Al-Ḥakīm also stressed the importance of ascribing knowledge and power to God. He said that God is omnipotent and omniscient and has knowledge and power. The one who has no knowledge is called "knowing" either figuratively or by false title, and one who has no power is called "able" either figuratively or by false title. The one who is really able and really knows is God, and no figure or title or lie is ascribed to Him.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. The attributes of action

The Sunnites agreed that the attributes of essence, such as life, omniscience, omnipotence, hearing, etc., are eternal, but al-Ash'arī and the Mu'tazilites maintained that the attributes of action, such as mercy, providing, making to be, etc., are not eternal.

As against this, al-Māturīdī maintained that both the attributes of essence and those of action are eternal. He holds that takwīn is an eternal attribute although its object mukawwan is created, just as knowledge is an eternal attribute but what is known, ma'lūm, is created.

Al-Ḥakīm held this doctrine when he was touching on the question of creation. He said, "Know that God is still creating - nor has His state changed (as a result of it). He who says that God was not a Creator before He created things, then when He created things He became Creator, is

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1. B.M. ff. 43<sup>b</sup> - 44<sup>a</sup>. Article 37.

like one who says that God (T) was not a God, but then became a God".

### 3. The creation of the Qur'ān

It is needless to go into detail in this problem, because it is very well known in history. The Mu'tazilites held that the Qur'ān is created, whereas the Sunnites refuted such an idea, maintaining its uncreatedness.

Al-Māturīdī was in agreement with the view that the revealed Qur'ān is the uncreated speech of God, but at the same time he was against some extremists who held that the recited Qur'ān, the copies and the letters of the copies, are uncreated too. In elaborating his theory al-Māturīdī quotes the following verse from the Qur'ān: "God spoke to Moses directly".<sup>1</sup> "Some of them have already heard the word of God".<sup>2</sup>

He also introduces a rational argument: if God is omnipotent, omniscient, and yet does not speak, this must be due to a defect in His Being. God is exalted above being incapable, therefore he has speech.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Hakīm as-Samarqandī also tried to make a difference between the revealed speech of God and the recited speech. He says that God gave utterance without letters or syllables but we recite with letters and syllables. What we recite is the real Qur'ān but the paper upon which it is written,

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1. Q. 4 vs. 164.

2. Q. 2 vs. 75.

3. Tawhīd, p. 57; Must. ff. 96-98.

and the ink, etc., are all created. God uttered it outside of time or space, as we know. In fact, al-Ḥakīm makes it very difficult to qualify the speech of God; he says that God uttered it without any when or where or how or how much, and not in a loud voice or in a subdued voice. Nor did he utter it with a voice nor without a voice; nor with syllable after syllable; nor with letter after letter; nor intonation after intonation; nor a succession of time (minute after minute).<sup>1</sup>

### C. The Beatific vision

Al-Māturīdī was trying to refute the Mu'tazilite doctrine, which was in contrast to the Sunnite doctrine of the possibility of seeing God. The Mu'tazilites maintained that God is not a jism, so it is impossible to see Him. They cite the following verses to support their doctrine:

"Vision comprehends Him not, but He comprehends all vision."<sup>2</sup>

"And when Moses came to the appointed time and his Lord communed with him, he said: 'Lord, reveal Yourself to me that I may look at You.' He replied: 'You shall not see Me. But look upon the mountain; if it remains firm upon its base, only then shall you see Me.' And when his Lord revealed Himself to the

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1. B.M. ff. 36<sup>b</sup> - 49<sup>b</sup>. Article 40.

2. Q. 6 vs. 103.

mountain He crushed it to fine dust. Moses fell down senseless and when he came to himself said:

'Glory be to You. Accept my repentance. I am the first of believers.'<sup>1</sup>

As against this, al-Ash'arī produced both rational and Qur'ānic arguments. Al-Māturīdī agreed with al-Ash'arī in advancing Qur'ānic arguments, but he does not seem to have been convinced that a rational argument would also be helpful. In an attempt to refute the Mu'tazilite's opinion, al-Māturīdī maintained the following argument. The vision of God is possible without modality (bilā kayf), because He is seen without qualities such as standing or being seated, leaning or hanging, contiguous or detached, advancing or retreating, etc. The faithful will see Him in the next world and in this one, but the unbeliever will be deprived of vision in both worlds. Al-Māturīdī distinguishes between comprehension (idrāk) and beholding (ru'ya). God can be beheld but not comprehended, for comprehending something would mean perceiving it as a whole, whereas beholding means seeing only a part of it. As for Moses, God did not forbid him to see Him or make him despair of doing so, but He stipulated the firmness of the mountain as a condition of seeing Him. The firmness of the mountain is not impossible in its own right, and what has been stipulated as a possible thing is in itself possible. The reason why the mountain was crushed was to show Moses that he could not behold God in this world.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Q. 7 vs. 143.

2. Tawhīd, pp. 77-8. Ta'wīlāt, pp. 160-1.

Al-Ḥakīm followed the same line here in emphasising the views of his teacher. He maintains that the People of Paradise will see God on the day of resurrection without modality or resemblance to creatures. Al-Ḥakīm attacked those who sought a middle way in this question and said that God would not be seen physically, that is to say visibly. He says; "He who denies the vision of God on the Day of Resurrection, and says that they (the believers) will not see Him with the physical eye (literally the eye of the head) but with the eye of the heart, is in error and a heretic".<sup>1</sup>

#### D. The Throne

Al-Māturīdī criticises those who maintain both that God is seated on the Throne and that the angels encompass the Throne and carry It. At the same time, he criticises those who profess the belief that the meaning of "is set on the Throne" is figurative, i.e. that God is sovereign over all things. For the first group, al-Māturīdī says that God exists from eternity without place. Thus it is possible for Him to exist for ever without place, for no change or transitoriness can be attributed to Him. For the second one, he maintains that we must refrain from giving any interpretation to this verse "The Merciful who is set on the Throne"<sup>2</sup> because it may mean something else which we do not know.<sup>3</sup>

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1. B.M. ff. 35<sup>b</sup>-36<sup>b</sup>. Article 31.

2. Q. 20 vs. 5.

3. Tawḥīd, pp. 67-77. Ta'wīlāt, pp. 83, 85.

Al-Ḥakīm follows the same line as that of his teacher. He says that God is not in need of the Throne; on the contrary, the Throne exists by the power of God. On the other hand, he asserts that God is set on the Throne. One finds an interesting distinction between "on the Throne" and "above It" in al-Ḥakīm's work. He says: "Know that God set Himself upon the Throne, not above the Throne, for He (T) said: 'The Merciful One, who is set on the Throne, He is upon the Throne, not above it; for 'above' (fawq) is only applied to created things whereas the state of being 'upon' ('uluw) has no limit except as God wills'".<sup>1</sup>

#### E. The relation between God and human actions

The Mu'tazilites, or the people of justice (ahl-al-'adl), as they like to call themselves, maintained that it is unjust on the part of God to compel man to do something evil in this world, only to punish him in the next. Man is free to do what he wants with complete independence from God, so that he is to blame when he commits sins. In adopting this belief, they were in alliance with the self-determinists (Qadariyya) against the predeterminists (Jabriyya) who maintained that man cannot escape the pre-determined fate which God has destined for him.

Al-Māturīdī affirms the freedom of man by both rational and Qur'ānic arguments. God said in the Qur'ān: "Do whatever you wish"<sup>2</sup> and "Whoever has done an atom-weight

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1. B.M. ff. 54<sup>b</sup>-55<sup>b</sup>. Article 47.

2. Q. 41 vs. 40.

(of good shall see it)".<sup>1</sup> Rationally, everyone feels that he is free and can do whatever he wants without an external will being imposed on him. Furthermore the relation between man and God is different from that which exists between God and physical objects. Man is endowed with reason, imagination, and the faculty of thinking, etc. Therefore, man is free to choose his own actions and is not, as the predeterminists say, devoid of this ability. This freedom of choice, however, does not mean that God has no part to play and that every action is executed solely by man. On the contrary, man cannot accomplish any action without God having a part in it. Man's actions are done by his own volition, yet the actions themselves are created by God.

Al-Māturīdī divides man's actions into two parts: first, actions within his control, which are movement and rest according to what has been enjoined or forbidden, and second, actions which are beyond his control and which are known only by the absolute power, and complete knowledge, which man lacks. This second group of actions, such as bringing things from non-existence into being, are God's, and the first group of actions are man's.

When man intends to do an action, be it good or bad, God provides him with the capacity (istiṭā'a) to do it.

The term 'capacity' (istiṭā'a or qudra), in al-Māturīdī's opinion, has two meanings: the first is the enabling capacity, al-qudra al-mumakkina, and the second is the facilitating capacity, al-qudra al-muyassira. The first

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1. Q. 99 vs. 7.



precedes the action, and the second runs concurrently with it. Regarding the first, al-Māturīdī maintains that it provides man with the organs and means to do the action, such as hands, mouth, eyes, etc. This kind of capacity was not given to man only for the sake of performing a specific action, although actions cannot be performed without it. The following verse illustrates this view. "God said: 'Pilgrimage to the House is a duty to God for all those who are able to make the journey'".<sup>1</sup> Istiṭā'a to perform the pilgrimage can be brought about by adequacy of means above which obligation is based.

This kind of istiṭā'a is prior to action. The second meaning of 'capacity' is a temporal one, qudra ḥāditha. This kind of capacity is additional to the first; when man has the intention of doing a specific type of action, God provides him with the capacity to do it. Therefore, although man is not the real creator of his work, he is responsible for it, because he chooses it and has the intention of doing it. That is why sleepers, or the insane, are not to blame when doing bad deeds, because they did not have the intention of doing them; and that is why other people are not to be rewarded when doing good deeds, because they did not have the intention of doing them. That is why the Prophet said: "Actions are judged by the intentions behind them. To every man his intention: he who travels for the sake of God and His Apostle, his travel is for the sake of God and His Apostle; he who travels in order to acquire

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1. Q. 3 vs. 97.

worldly goods or to marry a woman, his travel is for what he is travelling for". By giving man this capacity, God does not want him to do bad deeds, but, at the same time, does not withhold the capacity from man when he intends to do these deeds. This is creation on the part of God, and choice (ikhtiyār) on the part of man.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ḥakīm maintained the same attitude as that of his teacher. He criticised the Qadarites, who suggested that God is devoid of power by claiming that the action was theirs without any part played by God in doing it, and he also criticised the Jabrites, whose doctrine claimed that sinners and unbelievers were excused when committing sins and disbelieving in God. Al-Ḥakīm asserted, further, that man is free to do whatever he wants and is therefore responsible for his work, but that no one can do anything without God taking part in it.

Al-Ḥakīm uses the terms 'succour' (tawfīq) and 'abandonment' (khidhlān) to illustrate his ideas. If man has the intention of doing good deeds, God bestows on him His succour, which exists contemporaneously with the action; but if man intends to do an evil deed, God withdraws His succour and abandons him. However, He gives him the capacity to do whatever he wants. Thus God gives man the capacity to do both good and evil, a capacity which runs parallel to man's intention, not before or after it. If man does good deeds, that is in accordance with God's fiat

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1. Tawhīd, pp. 221-262. Ta'wīlāt, pp. 101, 181, 302.  
Must. ff. 92-96.

(qadā'), succour, decree, will, command and His good pleasure. If man does an evil deed, that is in accordance with God's fiat, decree, will and abandonment (of the transgressor), but the action runs counter to God's command and His good pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

These are some of the many ideas which al-Māturīdī and his student al-Hakīm as-Samarqandī formed, following their leader Imām Abū Ḥanīfa and establishing a theological school in Samarqand which, a few centuries later, was known as al-Māturīdiyya.

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1. B.M. ff. 13<sup>a</sup>-16<sup>b</sup>, Article 6. See also ff. 21<sup>a</sup>, Article 11; ff. 51<sup>a</sup>-52<sup>b</sup>, Article 43.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين ولا ينجي  
الله علي سيدنا محمد وعلي اله وصحبه اجمعين  
لما هدانا الي صراط مستقيم وارسلنا  
بدينه القويم واكرمنا بالقران العظيم وجنبنا  
عبادة الاوثان وجعلنا من المكرمين تدمرته  
ومن المقرين بوحدانيته والعاملين بطاعته  
واختارنا من بين كثير من الانام وجعلنا من  
امة محمد عليه السلام ونسال الله تعالى  
ان يثبتنا علي المهاد الرضي والحق الثماني  
وان يعصمنا من الاهواء البدع ويحفظنا  
من الردي وان يمسكنا علي سبيل الاستقامة  
والهدى فانه علي ما يشاء قد ير وهو عليه يسير  
باب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقة للمتقين وحملته على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين ونحمده كاهلنا إلى يوم لا نستقيم وارشدنا بمدينة القويم وأكرمتنا بالقرآن وجنبنا عبادة الأوثان وجعلنا نلذذ بغير خذلته ومن التربين لوصفا نبيعه بطاعته واقتارنا بين كثيرين بالإمام وجعلنا من أمة محمد عليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام ربنا إله تنالنا ان يشبتنا على المنهج الرضي والحق الرضي وان يحفظنا من الأهواء والبيع ورجعنا من الردي وان يحفظنا من الاستقامه والهدى فانه على ما يشاء قدور وهو عليه يسير ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله اعلم انهم قالوا الفقيه رحمه الله تعالى اخبرنا ابراهيم البخاري قال اخبرنا اخبرنا اخبرنا محمد بن الحسن قال اخبرنا بن حمزة واسطويه عبد الرحمن قال اخبرنا محمد بن عبيد الله بن الحسن عن قوله تعالى هو الذي انزل عليك الكتاب منه آيات محكمات قلنا ما الكتاب يعني القرآن الذي انزل على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم منه آيات محكمات يعني بينات فيه من الخلاص والحرام والمناسخ والمنسوخ الذي لم ينسخ من شيء من ام الكتاب يعني ام الكتاب وهن الثلاث آيات بخط نمام الكتاب يعني ام الكتاب وهن الثلاث آيات المتواترة في سورة الانعام قوله قلنا لا يا اخبرنا ما حرم ربكم عليه

ان لا تشكروا

ان لا تشكروا به شيئا الى اخره من وعن الواقي لم ينسخ من شيء واحدا قال الله تعالى هن ام الكتاب يعني هن من جملة الكتاب الذي انزل على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم جميع الخلاص والحرام وهن ام في التوراة وامام في الانجيل وامام في الزبور وامام في القرآن ليس احد من الاولين الي برضى بن من علمه من دخل الجنة ثم رجع فقال تعالى واخر تشبهات يعني ما اشبه على الناس لم يعلموا لتبهرهن ثم قال فاما الذين في قلوبهم زيغ قالوا الكليل وهو رصط من اليهود وهو كعب بن الاشرف وصحابه وقال الحسن رضي الله عنه هما الخوارج وقال محمد بن سيرين هم اهل الأهوى كلهم قال ابو حفص وبنه ناخذ فيتميمون ما تشابه منه ابتغاء الفتنة وابتغاء تأويله وما يعلم تأويله الا الله شواذنا في الكلام هو قال تعالى والى استخرون في العلم يقولون اننا به كاذبون يعني الذين يبينون في علم القرآن يقولون اننا بالقرآن قليله وكثيره ناسخه ونسوخه وتشاكلنا من ريتا فكان من الايام المحكمات فيتميم ويرين فيهم وروايات فينا ظروبه وما كان من التشبهات فيتميم ويروين ولم يعلموا وقد اثنى الله تعالى على الراسخين ولم يكلفون انفسهم ما لا ينبغيهم واخبر عن قولهم عندما تشبه به وما حكمي منهم الا بعدهم من قوله وادعوا اليه عند ما اشتهه يعلم وخافوا الاثقال والزيغ وما اضررت

K. Ar-Radd 'Alā Aṣ'ḥāb al-Ahwā' Al-Musammā bi-s-  
Sawād al-A'ẓam 'Alā Madh'hab al-Imām al-A'ẓam  
Abī Ḥanīfa (RAA)

by

Abū-l-Qāsim Is'ḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakīm  
as-Samarqandī

d. 10th Muḥarram 342 A.H.

28th May 953 A.D.

[2<sup>a</sup>] "In the name of God the Beneficent the Merciful"

Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds and the outcome (of all events) to the pious. May God bless our master Muḥammad, his family and all his Companions. We praise Him because He guided us to the straight path, directed us by His sound religion, honoured us by the great Qur'ān and dissuaded us from worshipping idols. He made us of those ennobled by serving Him of those recognizing His Oneness and acting in accordance with His will; and He chose us from among many people and made us members of the Community of Muḥammad (AS).

We pray God (T) to establish us in the accepted path<sup>1</sup> and the brilliant truth, to protect us from (vain) desires and (heretical) innovations to preserve us from death and to make us hold fast to uprightness and guidance. He has power to do what He wants and for Him it is easy.

[2<sup>b</sup>] Bāb: "The refutation of the people of vain desires"

He<sup>2</sup> said: We were informed by

Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd<sup>3</sup> the scholar,

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1. In the B.M. (mihāj). In the B.N. (minhāj) f.2<sup>a</sup>.

2. ?

3. In Irā. p. 19. 'Alī b. as-Sughdī? 'Ali b. Ḥussain b. Muḥammad as-Sughdī Abū-l-Ḥasan died 461/1068, Fawd, p. 121.

Abū-Muḥammad ‘Abd-Allāh b. al-‘Abbās al-Marwazī,<sup>1</sup>  
known as al-‘Attābī

Abū-l-Qāsim Is’hāq b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakīm,<sup>2</sup>

Abū-Ya‘qūb Yūsuf b. Ma‘rūf al-Ashjī,<sup>3</sup>

Ar-Rabī‘ b. Ḥassān al-Kashshī<sup>4</sup>

‘Abd-Allāh Abū-Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd-al-Ghaffār  
al-Kisā’ī<sup>5</sup>

Hishām b. ‘Abd-Allāh ar-Rāzī<sup>6</sup>

Abū-Luhay‘a<sup>7</sup>

Sa‘d b. Hilāl<sup>8</sup>

Anas b. Mālīk<sup>9</sup>

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1. I failed to trace this man back but the only connection between al-‘Attābī and Abū-l-Qāsim as-Samarqandī is to be found in Allubāb 2/118. He is Abū-l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hilāl b. al-Khabbāza al-‘Attābī d. 479/1086. But Allubāb says that Abū-l-Qāsim as-Samarqandī narrated on his authority. This is wrong because Abū-l-Qāsim died in 342/953. So, al-‘Attābī must have transmitted from as-Samarqandī not vice-versa. Lubāb 2/118.
  2. Abū-l-Qāsim Is’hāq b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Zayd al-Ḥakīm as-Samarqandī d. 342/953.
  3. ? in the B.N. Istanjī f.3<sup>b</sup>.
  4. ? B.N. Al-Kabtī. f.4<sup>a</sup>.
  5. ? B.N. f.4<sup>a</sup> Abū-Zakariyyā Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd-al-Ghaffār al-Kashāfī.
  6. Hishām b. ‘Abd-Allāh ar-Rāzī received his education from Abū-Yūsuf. Fawd. p. 223.
  7. Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ‘Abd-Allāh b. Luhay‘a b. ‘Uqba al-Ḥaḍramī al-Miṣrī d. 174/790. Shadh. 1/283.
  8. ? in B.N. f.4<sup>a</sup>. Sa‘īd b. Abī-Hilāl. Sa‘īd b. Abi Hilāl al-Laythī d. 133/750 or 135/752. Shadh. 1/191.
  9. Abū Ḥamza Anas b. Mālīk b. an-Naḍir b. Ḍamḍam al-Anṣārī d. 93/711. Tahdh. 1/376.



who said that the Messenger of God (AS) said: "The Children of Israel split into seventy one sects, seventy of which have perished and one has been saved [<sup>3a</sup>];<sup>1</sup> my Community will split into seventy-three sects all of them will be summoners to error and heads of dissension each one of them says I am right,<sup>2</sup> erring and guiding to hell except "the Greater Company" (as-Sawād al-A'zam) so adhere to them."

Then the Prophet was asked who were the "Greater Company". He said: "That which follows my example and that of my Companions". (Then he continued) "Seventy two sects will be doomed to perdition and only one will be saved".

Then he was asked which was that sect. He said: "It is the Congregation (jamā'a), and the Congregation is the "Greater Company".<sup>3</sup>

The Prophet (AS) also said: "My Community (umma) will never be in agreement on an error".<sup>4</sup>

No man can be included in this "Greater Company" until he professes these sixty two articles of belief (khuṣṣa).

1. He must not doubt in respect of his faith.

2. He must not run counter to the Congregation (jamā'a) of the Muslims.

3. He must perform the prayers behind every Imām, just and unjust; and consider it valid.

[<sup>3b</sup>] 4. He must not call anyone among the people of this Qibla an unbeliever through his sinning.

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1. B.N. f.4<sup>a</sup>. The Christians.

2. B.M. incomplete. cf. B.N. f.3<sup>a</sup>.

3. Kanz. 1/188.

4. Kanz. 1/160.

5. He must pray at the funeral of everyone young and old, of the people of this Qibla, and consider it valid.

6. He must consider that the decree (tagdīr) of both good and evil is from God (T).

7. He must not take up sword against any of the Muslims without a just cause.

8. He must perform the prayers of the two feasts ('īds) and the Friday (jum'ā) prayer behind every commander, and consider it valid.

9. He must consider the wiping of the shoes valid (as a substitute for ablution) both when settled and when travelling.

10. He must regard faith as the gift of God (AJ).

11. He must know that the deeds of men are created by God (T).

12. He must confess that the Qur'ān, the Speech of God, is uncreated.

13. He must believe that the punishment of the grave is a reality.

14. He must believe that the questioning by Munkar and Nakīr in the grave is a reality.

15. He must believe that the prayer and alms of the living benefit the dead.

16. He must believe that [4<sup>a</sup>] the intercession of the Prophet (SAAS) for the sinners of his Community is a reality.

17. He must believe that the Night of the Ascent (mi'rāj), the Ascension of the Prophet, is a reality.

18. He must confess to the reading of (each man's) book on the day of resurrection and hold it to be a reality.

19. He must believe in the reckoning and hold it to be a reality.

20. He must believe that the balance is a reality.

21. He must believe in the ṣirāṭ and hold it to be a reality.

22. He must know that Paradise and hell-fire are (already) created and will not cease to exist nor vanish and must hold this as a reality.

23. He must know that God reckons with His servants on the Day of Resurrection with no interpreter between Him and them.

24. He must testify that the Ten Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) are in Paradise, and believe that is a reality.

25. He must know that none of his Companions or his [4<sup>b</sup>] Community after the Prophet was more excellent than Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (RAA),<sup>1</sup> and he must believe that he is Khalīfa after the Prophet in reality.

26. He must know that after Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq there is no one in the whole Community more excellent than ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA)<sup>2</sup> and he must hold him to be rightfully Khalīfa.

27. He must know that in this Community there is no one after ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb more excellent than ‘Uthmān b.

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1. Abū-Bakr ‘Abd-Allāh b. Abī Quḥāfa ‘Uthmān d. 13/634.

Shadh. 1/24.

2. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ al-‘Adawī d. 23/643.

Shadh. 1/33.

‘Affān (RAA)<sup>1</sup> and he must regard him as rightfully Khalīfa.

28. He must know that there is no one either among the Companions of the Prophet or among his family after ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān more excellent than ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib (RAA);<sup>2</sup> and must hold him to be rightfully Khalīfa.

29. He must not talk abusively of any of the Companions of the Messenger of God nor slander them.

30. He must know that God is wrathful and also of good-will; and must consider this a reality.

31. He must believe in the reality of the vision of God (T) in Paradise.

32. He must know that the status of the Prophets (AS) [5<sup>a</sup>] is higher and better than those of the Walīs.

33. He must not deny the miraculous power (karāma) of the Walīs, but consider it true.

34. He must know that God (T), by His justice makes the happy miserable; and, by His generosity makes the miserable happy.

35. He must know that the unbelievers' minds are not equal to the minds of the prophets and the believers.

36. He must believe that God (T) is still creating without any change of His state.

37. He must believe that God (T) has Knowledge and power and thus is omniscient and omnipotent.

38. He must believe that the sinners amongst the

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1. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān b. Abī-l-‘Āṣ b. Umiyya the third Khalīpha d. 35/655. Shadh. 1/40.

2. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib b. ‘Abd-Manāf b. ‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, the fourth Khalīfa d. 40/660. Shadh. 1/49.

believers will really be punished in hell in the measure of their sins.

39. He must believe that God (T) has done what He willed and will do what He wills; whether created beings understand (this act) or not, as good or evil.

40. He must know that what is written on the copies (maṣāḥif) is Qur'ān, really not figuratively.

41. He must know that faith is (held) [5<sup>b</sup>] really and not figuratively.

42. He must know that if a man has an adversary at law, and leaves this world without satisfying him, God will give to his adversary in the next world part of his good deeds equivalent to his claim against his (the adversary's) claim against him, and he must consider that as just on God's part.

43. He must know that man's obedience to God coincides with His succour (tawfīq) and man's disobedience to God coincides with His abandonment (khidhlān).

44. He must know that faith involves two members, the heart and the tongue.

45. He must know that whoever knows God (T) in his heart and does not confess to it with his tongue is an unbeliever in reality; and he who confesses with his tongue but does not know in his heart is a hypocrite in reality.

46. He must not assert a resemblance between God and any (other) thing.

47. He must not ascribe to God any location nor speak of His presence or absence.

48. He must know that earning is sometimes obligatory.

49. He must believe that action [6<sup>a</sup>] is different from faith.

50. He must believe that the faith of the upright (man) and of the sinner is equal.

51. He must believe in the resurrection.

52. He must believe in the Hour as a reality.

53. He must believe that the Witr is three Rak'ā with one greeting (taslīma).

54. He must regard the uncleanness of the Imām as uncleanness in respect of those who stand behind him (in prayer).

55. He must believe that the washing of the feet after removing the shoes is without doubt necessary.<sup>1</sup>

56. He must not consider that performing ablution (wuḍū') with a small quantity of stagnant water (is valid).

57. He must believe that the wiping (of the shoes) is to be repeated if the ablution becomes invalid; and if blood flows from any part of the body or matter or pus or the like, that invalidates the ablution.

58. He must believe that faith does not increase nor decrease.

59. He must know that Iblīs (LA) was a believer in the view of God and the angels, so long as he remained God's worshipper ('abd); whereas Abū-Bakr and 'Umar were, in the view of God and the angels, unbelievers, so long as they worshipped images [6<sup>b</sup>].

60. He must believe that the command of God does not

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1. According to B.M. this article is No. 56, but inside the text its order is 55.

cease to be an obligation upon the man who loves Him.

61. He must fear God for the sake of the end  
(khātima).

62. He must not consider that despair of God and of  
His mercy is valid.

## Article 1

He must not doubt in respect of his faith and say:  
"I am a believer if God wills".

This is because God (T) said: "The true believers are only those who believed in God and His Messenger, and afterward wavered not."<sup>1</sup> That "wavered not" means did not doubt in respect of their faith. (It is) also because God (T) mentioned people (khalq), as being in three categories; believers, hypocrites and unbelievers, but He did not mention the fourth (the one who doubts his faith).

Consider, wise man, to which group you belong. Are you a believer, a hypocrite or an unbeliever? If you are a believer, God (T) mentioned the believer in His book when He said: "Those are they who are in truth believers".<sup>2</sup> [7<sup>a</sup>] Again he said: "The hypocrites will be in the lowest depth of fire".<sup>3</sup> He also mentioned the unbeliever when He said: "Such are in truth unbelievers".<sup>4</sup>

If someone said: "The believer is the one who performs what God has imposed as a duty", say to that fool: "It is as if you suggest that anyone, who does not perform what God has imposed as a duty, could not be called a real believer, and this obliges you to say that if the unbeliever does not commit all kinds of evil and sins he could not be called a real unbeliever."

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1. Q. 49 vs. 15.

2. Q. 8 vs. 4.

3. Q. 4 vs. 145.

4. Q. 4 vs. 151.



If he says: "I do not call him a real unbeliever unless he commits all kinds of evil and sins, he will be himself an unbeliever because God (T) called those, who believed in parts of the Qur'ān and disbelieved in others, real unbelievers. God (T) said: "And they say: We believe in some and disbelieve in others and seek to choose a way between, such are unbelievers in truth".<sup>1</sup> If anyone makes an exception [7<sup>b</sup>] in respect of his faith, that is to say if he says: "I am a believer if God (AJ) wills", consider to what time the exception refers. Is it to past time, that is to saying: "I have been a believer, if God willed", or to present time, that is to saying: "I am a believer now if God wills", or to future time, that is to saying: "I will be a believer tomorrow if God wills". Anyone who makes an exception in respect of past or present time by saying: "I was a believer yesterday" or "I am now a believer, if God wills", has disbelieved in God by saying so. If, however, he makes an exception in future time by saying: "I will be tomorrow a believer if God wills", that (statement) is allowable; for him to say so is an innovation because the Prophet (SAAS) said: "He who is not a real believer is a real unbeliever".<sup>2</sup>

He said [8<sup>a</sup>]: We were told by

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

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1. Q. 4 vss. 150, 151.

2. Kanz. 1/72.

Al-Qāsim<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ma'rūf

Yahyā b. 'Abd-al-Ghaffār

Is'hāq b. Bishr<sup>2</sup>

Juwaybir<sup>3</sup>

Ad-Dahhāk<sup>4</sup>

who said that a man came to 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās<sup>5</sup>(RAA) and said: "O Ibn-'Abbās shall I say I am a real believer or I am a believer if God (T) wills?" "May your mother be bereaved of you" replied Ibn-'Abbās, then he said to him "Do you believe in God and what has come from Him?"

He said: "Yes I do".

Then Ibn-'Abbās said: "So say I am a real believer", then he recited "The (true) believers are only those who believe in God and His Messenger and afterward doubt not".<sup>6</sup> This means people who do not doubt their belief in God, His Messenger and all that came from God (T).

Say to this neglectful person: "Did God will, that you became a [8<sup>b</sup>] believer? or is God (now) willing that you should be a believer? or did he not will this and did you nevertheless become a believer?"

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1. Abū-l-Qāsim.

2. Abū-Ḥudhayfa Is'hāq b. Bishr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Sālim al-Bukhārī d. 206/821. Bagh. 6/326.

3. Abū-l-Qāsim Juwaybir b. Sa'īd al-Āzidī d. between 140/757 - 150/767. Shadh. 1/123.

4. Ad-Dahhāk Muzāḥim al-Hilālī d. 104/723 or 105/724. Tahdh. 4/453.

5. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās b. 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib d. 68/687. Shadh. 1/75.

6. Q. 49 vs. 15.

If he says "God willed that I became a believer" there will be no point in making the exception. And if he says that God is (now) willing that I should be a believer, say to him: "But you were already a believer without the will of God and now you are an unbeliever because of what you said".

The true (nature) of faith is to acknowledge with your tongue and count it true in your heart and that you believe in God, His angels, His books, His messengers, the Last Day, resurrection, and that the decreeing of both good and bad is from God and that heaven, hell, the bridge (sirāṭ), the balance, the reckoning of (the Last Day), and all that God revealed to Muḥammad (SAAS) through Jibrīl (AS).

To acknowledge all these (doctrines) with your tongue and not to say: "If God wills", this is faith. [9<sup>a</sup>].

So consider, you neglectful person, if you say "I am a believer if God wills" is what meaning it has. If one says in Persian: "Khuda-yi hast (God exists) if God wills" and Muḥammad paygambar būd (was a prophet) if God wills, and firishtigān hastand (there are angels); if God wills and rastanīz būd (The Day of resurrection is a reality), if God wills, then he will be without doubt an unbeliever. As it is not permissible for anyone to say that in Persian, so it is similarly not permissible in Arabic.

Again in certain legal principles (aḥkāṁ) if a man says to his wife "You are divorced if God wills", or to his slave "You are free if God wills" or "I will bind myself to do such and such if God wills" or "I have bought or have sold, if God wills" (then) nothing is binding on him because

the exception makes all these formulas invalid and it similarly makes faith invalid.

I have made matters clear enough, on this topic, to you and to him who thinks rationally.

[9<sup>b</sup>] Article 2

He must not run counter to the Congregation in view of the Prophet's saying: "My community will never be in agreement on an error".<sup>1</sup>

We comment: whoever separates himself from the Congregation of the Muslims, and does not think the Congregation right, is in error and a heretic; for to preserve the Congregation is one of the points defined by ahkām and the practices (ṣunan) of the Prophet (SASA) and the keeping of his Sunna is a (religious) duty (farīḍa). God's saying (T): "Obey God and obey the Apostle"<sup>2</sup> means "Obey God through the religious duties (He imposes) and obey the Apostle through (keeping) the Sunna". He said in another place: "And He is not speaking on an impulse. It is nothing but a revelation revealed which one mighty in strength taught him".<sup>3</sup> He means (T): O my worshippers, truly what Muḥammad (SASA) says to you he does not say of his own accord, nor does he speak his own opinion and the dictates of his own wishes and liking. He neither utters nor commands anything except by revelation and command from God (T) [10<sup>a</sup>]. The Tradition transmitted through

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1. Kanz. 1/160.

2. Q. 4 vs. 59.

3. Q. 53 vs. 3-5.

Abū-l-Ḥasan  
 [Abū] Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Abd-l-Ghaffār  
 Muḥammad b. Sallām<sup>2</sup>  
 Abū-l-Qāsim  
 [Abū] Ya‘qūb  
 Ar-Rabī‘  
 ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Zayd<sup>3</sup>  
 His father<sup>4</sup> b. Sa‘īd b. Jubayr<sup>5</sup>  
 Ibn ‘Abbās

is that the Prophet (SAAS) said: "He who works for God in the Congregation and is correct, God (T) receives it from him; and if he errs, God forgives him. He who works in schism and is correct, God does not receive it from him; and if he errs; then let him take his place in the fire".<sup>6</sup> Know that the Prophet (SAAS) observed the prayer with the Congregation, and saw it to be obligatory upon him, and commanded the people to observe it; so whoever does not preserve the Congregation [10<sup>b</sup>], and consider it to be right, is a heretic.

These arguments are sufficient for one of understanding.

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1. These two names are repeated.

2. Muḥammad b. Sallām Abū Naṣr al-Balkhī d. 305/917.  
Fawd. p. 168.

3. In the B.M. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥīm b. Nīd. cf. B.N. f.8<sup>a</sup>. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam al-‘Adawī d. 182/798. Tahdh. 6/178.

4. B.N. f.8<sup>a</sup> from his father.

5. Sa‘īd b. Jubayr. Al-Wālibī d. 95/713.

6. Kanz. 1/185.

Article 3

He should consider prayer behind every just<sup>1</sup> or unjust one as valid and is not like the Rāfiḍites, may God destroy them, for they do not pray behind every one either righteous or unjust, and do not consider the prayer of the Congregation as valid behind everyone.

Know that prayer is lawful behind any (man) righteous or unjust, adulterer or wine-bibber, provided that he is not a heretic; for prayer behind a heretic or an unbeliever is unlawful. So anyone who does not consider as lawful prayer behind every (believer), righteous or unjust, is (himself) a heretic.

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya‘qūb

Ar-Rabī‘

Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd-al-Ghaffār

Khalaf b. Ayyūb<sup>2</sup>

Mundal b. ‘Alī<sup>3</sup>

[11<sup>a</sup>] Ḥammād b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān<sup>4</sup>

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1. Reading barr instead of m.s.rr.

2. Khalaf b. Ayyūb al-‘Āmirī Abū-Sa‘īd al-Balkhī d. 205/820 or 215/830. Tahdh. 3/147.

3. B.N. f.8<sup>a</sup>. Mubaddal b. ‘Alī. Mundal b. ‘Alī al-‘Anzī Abū ‘Abd-Allāh al-Kūfī. 167/812 or 187/802. Tahdh. 10/298.

4. Ḥammād b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd-Allāh. B.N. f.8<sup>a</sup>.  
Ḥammād b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī. Tahdh. 3/18.

Muhammad b. 'Abd-Allāh<sup>1</sup>

Mak'hūl ash-Shāmī<sup>2</sup>

is that he (the last-named) said to his friends in his last illness, "Four things I have not related to you from the Prophet (AS), but I tell you them today."

The Apostle (SAAS) said: "Do not call the people of your Qibla unbelievers even if they commit great sins; and prayer<sup>3</sup> for all the dead (is a duty), and prayer behind every Imām, and the Jihād with every amir", and so on to the end of the Ḥadīth.<sup>4</sup>

#### Article 4

He must not call anyone among the people of the Qibla an unbeliever through his sinning.

Know that the believer, though he commits adultery with 1,000 Muslim women, or kills 100,000 Muslims wrongfully, or drinks 100,000 jars of wine, does not by that depart from faith, just as the unbeliever, though he performs all acts of obedience, and all good deeds, does not by that depart from disbelief, until he believes in God. In the same way the believer, though he commits all transgressions, does not depart from faith until he disbelieves in God. [11<sup>b</sup>]

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1. Not in the B.N.

2. Mak'hūl b. Abi Muslim al-Hudhalī Abū-'Abd-Allāh or Abū-Ayyāb or Abū Muslim d. 118/736 or 112/730 or 113/731 or 114/732 or 116/734. Tahdh. 10/289.

3. Wa-ṣ-ṣalāt repeated.

4. Dāwūd. 3/27.

This is impossible from the point of view of reason and logic. Do you not see also that God (T) commanded the believers to repent, whoever might be engaged in fornication or ungodliness, or wine drinking, or wrongful killing, or homosexual behaviour. God (T) named them believers. When He (T) said: "O you who believe, repent to God sincerely".<sup>1</sup> If these believers had become unbelievers by committing sins, He would not have named them believers, but would have said "O unbelievers, repent to God". And He said in another verse: "And repent to God, all of you, O believers",<sup>2</sup> but did not say, "O unbelievers". Likewise when Adam (AS) entered the Garden, God (T) forbade him to go near the tree to eat of it, and said: [12<sup>a</sup>] "And Adam disobeyed his Lord, and was led astray",<sup>3</sup> but He did not say "And became an unbeliever". Likewise when Hārūt and Mārūt drank the wine when they had committed adultery, and chose the punishment of this world rather than the next, they did not become unbelievers, nor did anyone hold the view that they were unbelievers. Know that no one becomes an unbeliever through committing sins.

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū-Muḥammad

Ya'qūb

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1. Q. 66 vs. 8.

2. Q. 24 vs. 31.

3. Q. 20 vs. 121.



Ar-Rabī‘

Yahya b. ‘Abd-al-Ghaffār

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān<sup>1</sup>

His father

And 40 men among the Tābi‘īn all of whom had seen one or more of the fighters at Badr, and all of whom are in agreement about it is that the Apostle of God (SAAS) said: "There are seven ways of right guidance, and the Congregation is constituted in following them. Whoever departs from them has departed from the Congregation:- Do not bear testimony against the people of the Qibla concerning unbelief [12<sup>b</sup>], polytheism, or hypocrisy, but leave them to God (AJ) and pray over those of the people of the Qibla who die, and attend the five prayers and the Friday prayer in the Congregation with any Imām righteous or unjust, and strive with your enemy with every Khalīfa, and do not take up the sword against your Imāms even if they are tyrannical, but pray for them for their reformation and their pardon, do not pray against them. Avoid all evil desires for they are, first and last, vanity",<sup>2</sup> and so on to the end of the Ḥadīth. This section is sufficient for those who have intelligence.

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1. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Mughīra b. Abī Dhi’b d.

158/774. Tahdh. 9/303.

2. cf. Dāwūd. 1/230.

## Article 5

He must pray at the funeral of every righteous or unjust one among the people of the Qibla, young or old.

This is because the Prophet (SAAS) prayed at the funeral of his son Ibrāhīm, (nor is there any difference of opinion on this question among the Muslims), so we have summarised the evidences, [13<sup>a</sup>] reports and arguments. Whoever does not regard prayer at the funeral of children of this Qibla to be right, is a heretic because of what we have mentioned in the previous article in the first report from the Prophet (SAAS) that he said: "Pray at the funeral of any of the people of the Qibla who die."<sup>1</sup> This is sufficient.

## Article 6

He must know that the decree of good and evil is from God (T), and should consider it a fact.

This is because when Jibrīl (AS) asked the Prophet (AS) concerning faith, the Prophet (AS) mentioned at the end of his answer that the decree of both good and evil is from God (T) and in this is the proof that nothing happens without the fiat of God and that the servant never passes outside the fiat of God, but that the fiat is no plea in favour of the servant's action. Reliance and dependence on the fiat instead of acting is [13<sup>b</sup>] unbelief, and rejection of the fiat of God, and the denial of it, is unbelief. To go between these two is faith; for the Qadarī denies the fiat of God (T) and thereby becomes an unbeliever,

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1. cf. Dāwūd, 3/27.

and the Jabrī depends upon the fiat and forsakes the part played by one in the position of a servant, and so has disbelieved in God (T); but the believer is he who walks between these two paths, and stands firm upon the road of guidance. The Qadarī claims, "Good and evil are from me, and God has nothing to do with them", while the Jabrī claims, "Good and evil are from God, and nothing of it is my doing". The two parties are the Magians of this Community<sup>1</sup> as the Apostle of God (SAAS) related. The believer says that good and evil deeds are from me, but the decreeing of them is from God; therefore good and evil deeds are the doing of men (lit. worshippers), but the decreeing of the deeds of men is from God (T).

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan [14<sup>a</sup>]

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ma'rūf

Abū 'Amr and Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khaffāf  
an-Nīsābūrī<sup>2</sup>

Aḥmad b. Muslim

Mālik b. Yaḥya<sup>3</sup>

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1. Kanz. 1/121.

2. ?...probably he means Abū 'Amr Aḥmad b. Naṣr an-Nīsābūrī because Abū 'Amr does not exist in B.N. cf. f.10<sup>a</sup>.  
Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm an-Nīsābūrī Abū 'Amr al-Khaffāf d. 299/911. Tadhk. 2/654.

3. Mālik b. Yaḥya b. 'Amr b. Mālik an-Nukrī narrated from his father. See Tahdh. 11/259.

His father<sup>1</sup>

His grandfather 'Amr b. Mālīk an-Nukrī

Abū-l-Jawzā,<sup>2</sup>

Ibn 'Abbās (RAA)

is that the Prophet (SAAS) said, "God (AJ) said, 'I created good and evil, so blessed is he to whose execution (lit. hand) I have decreed good, and woe to him to whose execution (lit. hand) I have decreed evil'.<sup>3</sup> The Prophet (SAAS) said, 'There is nothing better to ask for, nor more swift to be realized than a new good deed (to make up) for an old sin', then he recited, 'Verily good deeds put away evil deeds'."<sup>4</sup>

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan [14<sup>b</sup>]

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb

'Alī b. Muḥammad ad-Dabbūsī<sup>5</sup>

Abū-l-Muthannā

Mu'ādh b. Muthannā<sup>6</sup>

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1. Yaḥya b. 'Amr b. Mālīk an-Nukrī al-Baṣrī. Tahdh. 11/259.

2. Abū-l-Jawzā' Aws b. 'Abd-Allāh ar-Rub'ī. d. 83/702.

Tahdh. 1/383.

3. Kanz. 1/110.

4. Q. 11 vs. 114.

5. ? Dabūsa is a town between Bukharā and Samarqand. Jar. 1/306. See also Lubāb. 1/401.

6. Abū-l-Muthannā Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh al-Baṣrī d. 196/812.

Bagh. 13/131. Reading Abū-l-Muthaynā in the B.M.

Ar-Rabī' an-Nahrānī

'Abbād b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallab<sup>1</sup>

Ismā'īl b. 'Abd as-Salām<sup>2</sup>

Zayd b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān<sup>3</sup>

'Amr b. Shu'ayb<sup>4</sup>

His father

His grandfather (RAA)

is that the Apostle of God (SAAS) said to Abū Bakr, "O Abū Bakr, if God (T) had wished that there should be no transgression in the earth, He would not have created Iblīs."<sup>5</sup> Reward and punishment are only paid according to the deeds of men, not according to the decree of God (T), because He said (A & J), "And you will only be recompensed according to what you have done".<sup>6</sup>

This statement is claimed by the Jabriyya [15<sup>a</sup>] and the Qadariyya, for the Jabrī says that good and evil are from God (T), and regards himself as excused when he sins, and unbelievers as excused in their unbelief, while the Qadarī considers good and evil as coming from himself, and does not consider that God has any will in it. These two parties disbelieve in God (T), for the Jabariyya ascribe to God (T) the part of a servant, while the Qadariyya

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1. 'Abbād b. 'Abbād b. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufra d. 180/796. Tahdh. 5/95.

2. cf. Abū-l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. 'Abd-as-Salām. Jar. 1/153.

3. Zayd b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān is unknown. Mīzān. 2/105.

4. 'Amr b. Shu'ayb b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ d. 118/735. Tahdh. 8/48-55.

5. Kanz. 4/142.

6. Q. 37 vs. 39.

ascribe the power of decreeing to themselves. Know that obedience is by the fiat of God and His succour and His decree and His will and His command and His good pleasure: but that transgression is by the fiat of God and His decree and His will and His abandonment (sc. of the transgressor), but not by His command nor His good pleasure. Know also that all the categories (assigned by God) (T) (to acts) are one of three, - a category which God has willed and likes and commands (which includes) obligatory religious duties, or a category which God has willed and likes, but has not commanded (which includes) works of supererogation, or a category which God has willed [15<sup>b</sup>] but does not like, and has forbidden but not commanded (which includes) transgressions.

Know that all fiats of God (T) are of four types - the fiat of obedience, the fiat of transgression, the fiat of grace, and the fiat of adversity, and the right form of belief is to concede that. That means (lit. is) that if God (T) wills obedience for His servant, he ought to accept that earnestly and sincerely, so that God (T) may be generous to him in granting him succour; for He said (T), "And those who strive in (regard to) Us We will surely guide in our ways".<sup>1</sup> But if God wills transgression, then he should accept it with prayer for pardon, and with regret and repentance, until God supplies him with repentance and forgiveness, in accordance with His saying (T), "Truly God loves those who repent".<sup>2</sup> And if God wills grace, he ought

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1. Q. 29 vs. 69.

2. Q. 2 vs. 222.

to accept it with thanks and liberality (sc. to others) that God may be more generous to him, for He says (T), "If you are [16<sup>a</sup>] thankful I will surely give you increase".<sup>1</sup> But if God wills for him adversity, he ought to accept it with patience and willingness, so that God may give him bounty in the next world, for He said (T), "only those who are patient will be paid their reward in full without (strict) account".<sup>2</sup> He also said in another verse, "And God loves the patient".<sup>3</sup>

So if you fall into transgression, you should think that the fiat of the fall to be abandonment by God and you should think it just that the fall should be blamed upon yourself, but not that the fall itself is from you; and repent to God from it, (while you are) in it, and ask His pardon.

For the Qadarī does not think it just (to consider) the fiat of the fall (as) from God, while the Jabrī does not think the blame is on himself, and the Mu'tazilite does not think of pardon without repentance.

If you think that the fiat of the fall in reality comes from God, then you are clear of the school of the Qadariyya; and if you think it your duty to blame yourself [16<sup>b</sup>], you are clear of the school of the Jabriyya; and if you repent of that and ask God's pardon, then you are clear of the school of the Mu'tazila. If you think the

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1. Q. 14 vs. 7.

2. Q. 39 vs. 10.

3. Q. 3 vs. 146.

fiat of the fall from God to be just, you act according to this verse: "Say, everything is from God";<sup>1</sup> and if you think yourself to be deserving of blame, and ask pardon of God (T), you act according to this verse: "O our Lord, we have wronged ourselves, and if you forgive us not, and have mercy upon us, we will surely be among the losers".<sup>2</sup> And if you repent to God (T) and ask His pardon, you act according to His saying (T): "And ask pardon of your Lord. Truly He is a Forgiving One".<sup>3</sup> Know that whoever does not believe in the fiat, and does not think that the decree of both good and evil is from God (T) is an unbeliever. This is the final argument.

#### Article 7

He must not take up sword against any of the Muslims without a just cause.

That is because the Prophet (SAAS) [17<sup>a</sup>] said: "The killer and the killed one are in hell".<sup>4</sup> Moreover whoever kills a believer accidentally (khaṭ'an) must pay the blood wit and the atonement (kaffāra) and whoever kills a believer deliberately does not thereby become an unbeliever, unless he thinks that killing him is lawful, and if he departs this life repentant, God will forgive him, but if he departs without repentance, he is subject to the volition

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1. Q. 4 vs. 78.

2. Q. 7 vs. 23.

3. Q. 71 vs. 10.

4. Mus. 3/101.



of God (T), if he wishes he forgives him by His grace, or if He wishes, He punishes him according to the amount of his sins; according to His justice; then, by His grace, He will take him out of hell and allow him to enter heaven.

Whoever alleges that this killer will everlastingly reside in hell is a heretic for the believer does not become an unbeliever by killing another believer and nobody remains in hell but the unbeliever.

#### Article 8

He must perform the Friday prayer and those of the two feasts behind every commander whether just or unjust, even if he is tyrannical, and considers it valid.

Obedying the authority (sultān) means observing one's duty [17<sup>b</sup>], but taking arms against him is not permissible, even though he has pierced ears.<sup>1</sup> If he acts justly he will be rewarded, but if he acts tyrannically that will be counted against him. You are obliged to obey the authority in all circumstances for whoever disobeys the authority is a Khārijite.<sup>2</sup> God (T) said: "(O believers! Obey God and obey the Messenger) and those in command among you";<sup>3</sup> namely the authorities.

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1. It seems that the people at that time did not like to be ruled by a pierced ears' man because this means that he had been a slave. The Prophet, however, asked them to obey him irrespective of his social prestige. cf. Kanz. 5/472.
  2. Reading Khārikhī. see B.N. f.12<sup>a</sup>; and Dār. p. 14.
  3. Q. 4 vs. 59.

The Prophet (SAAS) said: "Do not take arms against your leaders (a'imma) even though they should act unjustly, but pray (God) for their welfare and good health, and do not make imprecations against them."<sup>1</sup>

#### Article 9

He must consider the wiping of the shoes valid both when settled and when travelling from the time of uncleanness.

This applies to the person who is settled (in one place) for one day and one night, and to the traveller who travels for three days.

Wiping the feet is not lawful and he [18<sup>a</sup>] who considers it valid is a misguided Rāfiḍite.

#### Article 10

He must regard faith as the gift of God (T).

Know that guidance to the right way is the gift of God, and the giving of the right way is the gift of God, and holding fast to the right way is the gift of God (T), and acceptance of the right way by man is the gift of God; but the seeing of the right way is from man, and acceptance of the gift of the right way is from man, and striving<sup>2</sup> to hold fast to the right way is from man, and supplication to God (for ability) to accept the right way is from man. The latter are the four which are from man; they are his doing,

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1. see Kanz. 5/472.

2. Reading juhd. instead of jaml.

but man with all his actions is created. (On the other hand), the four which are from the side of God (T) are attributes of God, and God (T) with all His attributes is uncreated. The four which are from God (T) are not (to be) called faith [18<sup>b</sup>] apart from the four which are from man; so also the four which are from man are not (to be) called faith apart from the four which are from God. If the eight come together, then they are (to be) called faith.

So if you say faith is the work of man and God (T) has no part in it, then you become a Qadari; but if you say, "There is no action nor movement from me", you become a Jabri. If you know all this, then you know that faith is the gift of God Who gives it to whom He wills and withholds it from whom He wills; and you know that God (T) has given faith to one by His favour and withheld it from another by His justice. Therefore he to whom He has given faith by His favour must thank Him, while he from whom He has withheld faith must strive and supplicate and draw near in repentance, in accordance with His saying (T): "Draw near to your Lord in repentance and surrender to Him".<sup>1</sup>

It is not fitting for anyone to say, [19<sup>a</sup>] "I will not believe so long as God (T) does not give faith", for this is the belief of the Jabriyya: nor is it fitting for anyone to say, "It is all from me, and not the gift of God", for that is the belief of the Qadariyya.

Know that faith is the gift of God, and His favour and mercy, because of His saying (A & J): "God chooses for

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1. Q. 39 vs. 54.

Himself whom He wills and leads to Himself him who draws near in repentance",<sup>1</sup> and His saying (A & J): "That is God's favour which He gives to whom He wills, and God is the source of very great favour",<sup>2</sup> and His saying (A & J): "And if We had wished, we would have given to every soul its guidance",<sup>3</sup> and He said (T): "If God helps you there is none to overcome you, but if He abandons you, then who is there to help you apart from Him?",<sup>4</sup> and He said: "He whom God guides aright is the rightly guided, but those whom He causes to err, it is they who are the losers",<sup>5</sup> and He said (T): "Say, by the favour of God and His mercy, so let them rejoice in that; [19<sup>b</sup>] it is better than what they are gathering",<sup>6</sup> and He said (A & J): "It is certainly not you who lead aright whomever you like, but it is God Who leads aright whom He wills",<sup>7</sup> and His saying (T): "And who will lead aright him whom God has led astray?"<sup>8</sup>, and He said (T): "He leads astray whom He wills, and leads aright whom He wills, and no one knows the armies of your Lord but He",<sup>9</sup> and His saying (T): "So what of him whose evil deeds are glamorized so that they appear to him good? God indeed leads

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1. Q. 42 vs. 13.

2. Q. 57 vs. 21.

3. Q. 32 vs. 13.

4. Q. 3 vs. 160.

5. Q. 7 vs. 178.

6. Q. 10 vs. 58.

7. Q. 28 vs. 56.

8. Q. 30 vs. 29.

9. Q. 74 vs. 31.

astray whom He wills, and guides aright whom he wills",<sup>1</sup> and His saying (A & J): "And he whom God leads astray has none to guide him aright",<sup>2</sup> and His saying (T): "And he whom God leads astray, has no patron apart from Him",<sup>3</sup> and His saying (T): "And he whom God leads astray has no other way",<sup>4</sup> and His saying (A & J): "You used not to know what was the Book, nor what was faith",<sup>5</sup> and He said (T): "That is the guidance of God by which He guides aright whomever of His servants He wills",<sup>6</sup> and His saying (T): "He whom God leads astray [20<sup>a</sup>] has no guide. He leaves them to wander blindly in their rebelliousness",<sup>7</sup> "So if God wills, He sets a seal upon your heart, and God wipes out the false",<sup>8</sup> and He said (T): "Nay, but God is gracious to you in that He guides you to faith, if you are truthful",<sup>9</sup> and His saying (T): "Not one of you is ever pure, but God purifies whom He wills",<sup>10</sup> and His saying (T): "God guides to His light whom He wills",<sup>11</sup> and His saying (T): "And God leads whom He wills to a straight path".<sup>12</sup>

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1. Q. 35 vs. 8.

2. Q. 39 vs. 36.

3. Q. 42 vs. 44.

4. Q. 42 vs. 46.

5. Q. 42 vs. 52.

6. Q. 6 vs. 88.

7. Q. 7 vs. 186. This verse is erroneously joined with the one which succeeds it.

8. Q. 42 vs. 42.

9. Q. 49 vs. 17.

10. Q. 24 vs. 21.

11. Q. 24 vs. 35.

12. Q. 2 vs. 213.

So he who says that faith is created or uncreated, let him consider what he means in each of his two statements (i.e. how far it is true that faith is created or uncreated?), because faith is knowing in the heart and confessing with the tongue the existence of the Lord. Thus, what comes of man's doing is created, but what is of the attributes of God is uncreated. So [20<sup>b</sup>] if a man says, "There is no god but God", his saying and the movement of his tongue in (saying) it is the part of man and his attribute, and like all his actions it is created; but that which man says with his tongue and its motion is the speech of God and His attribute, and God (T) with all His attributes is eternal (qadīm). There is a difference between the speech<sup>1</sup> of man, which is his doing and his motion, and the speech of God (T) which is His attribute. It is like (the distinction between) the recitation of the Qur'ān, which is the doing of man and is created, and the Qur'ān (itself) (which is) uncreated; and if it comes to be intoned and recited, then also the confession is from man, and being man's doing it is created, but the help towards the confession is from God, and is uncreated; and the knowing is from man, but the causing to know is from God.

Thus what is from man is created, but what is from God is uncreated. [21<sup>a</sup>] The correct manner of stating this article is that one should say, "Man with all his actions is created, but God with all His attributes is uncreated". It is enough for one of understanding.

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1. Lacking in the B.M. cf. B.N. f.13<sup>b</sup>. Dār. p. 15.

Article 11

He must know that all the deeds of men are created, as they (themselves) are created, and that God (T) with all His attributes is uncreated.

This is because the deeds of men were not eternal, but God (T) created them, so all that man does in the way of ritual worship, fasting, pilgrimage, etc. is created, in accordance with His saying (T): "And God created you and what you do",<sup>1</sup> and His saying (T): "God is creator of everything",<sup>2</sup> So he who denies any of that is a heretic and an unbeliever.

Article 12

He must confess that (the Qur'ān)<sup>3</sup>, the Speech of God, is uncreated.

This is because the Qur'ān is the Speech of God (T) in reality, not figuratively, and His Speech is His attribute; and he whose attribute is created, is [21<sup>b</sup>] also created, so whoever holds the view that it (i.e. the Speech of God, the Qur'ān) is created says that the attribute of God is created, and that is unbelief. It is not created but is an attribute of the Creator.

The Tradition transmitted from Ibn 'Umar (RAA)<sup>4</sup> from

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1. Q. 37 vs. 96.

2. Q. 13 vs. 16.

3. (The Qur'ān) is lacking in B.M. cf. B.N. f.14<sup>a</sup>. Dār p. 16. Irā. p. 46.

4. Abū 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar. d. 74/693. Shadh. 1/81.

the Prophet (SAAS) is that he said, "Whoever says that the Qur'ān is created is an unbeliever in God".

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

(Abū) Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, the Qāḍi in Balkh<sup>1</sup>  
'Alī b. Ḥabīb

'Alī ash-Shāmī

'Abd-ar-Razzāq<sup>2</sup>

Ma'mar<sup>3</sup>

Az-Zuhrī<sup>4</sup>

'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās

is that the latter said, "We studied the Qur'ān together with the Prophet (SAAS), and he said, 'There will come among my Community at the end of the age people who will say [22<sup>a</sup>] that the Qur'ān is created'. Then he said, 'No, but it is the Speech of God (A & J)' tender and soft, 'so whoever holds another view in my Community has disbelieved the Qur'ān and the mighty God'."

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1. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. aṭ-Ṭabbā' al-Baghdādī  
d. 224/838. Shadh. 2/55.

2. Abū Bakr al-Ḥimyarī 'Abd-ar-Razzāq b. Hammām b. Nāfi'  
d. 211/826. Shadh. 2/27.

3. Abū 'Urwa al-Āzidī Ma'mar b. Rāshid d. 153/770. Shadh.  
1/235.

4. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abayd-Allāh b. Shihāb az-Zuhrī  
d. 124/741. Shadh. 1/162.



The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb

Muḥammad b. 'Īsā

'Alī b. Ḥabīb

'Alī ash-Shāmī

Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>

His Father

His Tutors

is that he said, "Certain of the people of San'ā' and 'Adan gathered and said, 'O Apostle of God, the Qur'ān is created'. He said, 'Do not say that; for it is unbelief'." <sup>2</sup>

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb

[22<sup>b</sup>] Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, the Qāḍi in Balkh

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad<sup>3</sup>

'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn

is that he said, "I heard Abū Yūsuf<sup>4</sup> say, 'I discussed<sup>5</sup>

1. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad d. 183/799. Mizān. 4/102.

2. Abū-l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Aṣamm. d. 346/957. Lubāb. 1/56.

3. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Qaṣīr, the transcriber of Abū Yūsuf. d. 249/863. Jar. 1/99.

4. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb d. 183/799. Fawd. p.225.

5. Reading Nāzart instead of nāṭazt.

with Abū Ḥanīfa<sup>1</sup>(RAA) concerning the Qur'ān six months, and we agreed that whoever says that the Qur'ān is created, is an unbeliever'."

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb

Rajab b. Ṣāliḥ al-Aṣamm in Balkh<sup>2</sup>

Aḥmad b. Ja'far as-Samarqandī in Balkh

'Abd al-Karīm<sup>3</sup>

Ja'far b. Salīm<sup>4</sup>

Abū Muqātil Ḥafṣ b. Salīm as-Samarqandī<sup>5</sup>

is that he said, "I heard Abū Ḥanīfa (RAA) say, 'The Qur'ān is the Speech of God, uncreated'."

[23<sup>a</sup>] The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

(Abū) Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb

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1. Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān b. Thābit b. Zoṭā d. 150/767.

Shadh. 1/227.

2. ? cf. B.N. p. 14<sup>b</sup>. Rajā' b. Ṣāliḥ al-Aṣamm.

3. He may be 'Abd-al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā d. 390/999.  
see Fawd. p. 101.

4. Not in the B.N. f.14<sup>b</sup>.

5. Ḥafṣ b. Salīm al-Fazzārī Abū-Muqātil as-Samarqandī  
d. 208/823. Tahdh. 2/396.

is that he said, "I heard Ḥamid b. Rādī al-Makasī say, I heard al-Khuzā'ī<sup>1</sup> say, I heard Mu'mil<sup>2</sup> say, I heard Sufyān<sup>3</sup> say, 'Whoever says that the Qur'ān is created is an unbeliever'."

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Aḥmad b. Nuṣayr an-Nasafī in Kiss in the  
house of Abū Ya'qūb al-Istaḥī

Abū-l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf  
al-Aṣamm an-Nīsābūrī

Ar-Rabī' b. Sulaymān al-Murādī<sup>4</sup>

Ash-Shāfi'ī (RAA)<sup>5</sup>

Mālik<sup>6</sup>

Nāfi'<sup>7</sup>

'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās

is that he said, "The Apostle [23<sup>b</sup>] of God (SAAS) said,  
'There will come upon my Community a time (when) they will

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1. He might be Is'hāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Khuzā'ī whom al-Ma'mūn asked to examine people in the inquisition. d. 206/821. Shadh. 2/14.

2. Mu'mil b. Ismā'īl al-'Adawī d. 205/820 or 206/821. Shadh. 2/16.

3. Sufyān b. Sa'īd ath-Thawri d. 161/777. Shadh. 1/250.

4. Abū Muḥammad Ar-Rabī' b. Sulaymān al-Murādī. d. 270/885. Tahdh. 3/246.

5. Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-'Abbās b. Shāfi' d. 204/819. Shadh. 2/9.

6. Abū 'Abd-Allāh Mālik b. Anas b. Mālik d. 179/795. Shadh. 1/289.

7. Abū-'Abd-Allāh Nāfi' al-Madanī d. 117/735 or 119/737 or 120/737. Tahdh. 10/412.

say, The Qur'ān is created. So whoever of you is alive and apprehend them, must not dissemble with them, nor sit with them; for they are unbelievers in God the Exalted the Mighty. They will not enter Paradise, nor will they even get a smell of it'. Thābit<sup>1</sup> said, 'When we heard that Ḥadīth we knelt on our knees, in honour of that word'."

He who suspends judgement and does not say that it is the Speech of God is more evil than he who says it is created. The one who suspends judgement is he who says, I do not know whether the Qur'ān is created or uncreated. Thus he is similar to the Naṣārā who split into three divisions. One division of them said, We see (the power to) give life to the dead (as coming) from Jesus, and giving life to the dead is the action of God; so we hold the view that he is God. The second division said, We see in [24<sup>a</sup>] him creaturliness; so we hold the view that he is a man. The third division said, We see in him both divinity and creaturliness; so we neither call him man nor God.

In the same way the one who suspends judgement holds a somewhat similar view. Know that all the books that God (T) has revealed through His prophets from the time of Adam to the period of Muḥammad (AS) are 104 (in number), and according to another statement 114, as it has been related by Ka'b al-Aḥbār,<sup>2</sup> who said, "Of these books 50 leaves were revealed through Shīth b. Ādam (AS) and 30 leaves through

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1. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī d. 127/744. Tahdh. 2/2.

2. Ka'b b. Māti' al-Ḥimyarī d. 32/652 or 34/654. Tahdh. 8/438.

Idrīs (AS), and 20 leaves through Ibrāhīm (AS), and in another account God (T) revealed through Ibrāhīm ten leaves, and through Mūsā before the Tawrāt ten leaves. Then He revealed the Tawrāt after that through Mūsā (AS) [24<sup>b</sup>] and He revealed the Zabūr through Dāwūd the prophet (AS), and He revealed the Injīl through 'Īsā(AS), and revealed the Furqān through Muḥammad (SAAS). All these books are the Speech of God and His attribute. They are uncreated. Whoever holds the view that a word of them is created is an unbeliever in God, and is called a Jahmite and Mu'tazilite, and anyone who doubts his unbelief has become a heretic. In this is sufficient.

### Article 13

He must believe that the punishment of the grave is a reality, if one deserves it! if one denies the punishment of the grave one becomes a foul Mu'tazilite.

The Apostle of God (SAAS) said: "The grave is one of the gardens of Paradise, or one of the ditches of Hell-fire";<sup>1</sup> and it is related in another report concerning him (AS) that he said: "Whoever recites (Sūrat-al-Mulk) every night, God will remove from him the punishment of the grave".<sup>2</sup> God (T) said: [25<sup>a</sup>] "Whoever avoids the mention of My Name, has a life of wretchedness, and We will raise him blind at the Day of Resurrection".<sup>3</sup> He means by "life of wretchedness"

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1. cf. Dāwūd. 4/329.

2. See Kanz. 1/525.

3. Q. 20 vs. 124.

the punishment of the grave. And the Prophet (SAAS) said: "Keep yourself free from urine; for the punishment of the grave is usually the result of it".<sup>1</sup> There are many Traditions about this, and inclusive (jāmi'a) verses, but we have confined ourselves to a general account (tagrīb), and God is the One Who grants success.

#### Article 14

He must believe that the questioning by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality, and that whoever denies their questioning joins the ranks of the Mu'tazila and the Qadariyya.

This is because the Prophet (AS) said: "When the dead is buried in his grave, two blue-black angels approach him, and ask him concerning three points, and they say to him, 'Who is your Lord, and who is your Prophet, and what is your religion?' etc."<sup>2</sup> And it is related in another report that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA) (that) he said: "O Apostle of God, shall [25<sup>b</sup>] I be in my first state of mind when the two angels ask me?", and he said, "Yes indeed". He answered: "I will answer them, O Apostle of God, with the help of God".

#### Article 15

He must believe that the dead are benefitted by the prayers of the living and their alms; if anyone denies that he is a Mu'tazilite.

In the Tradition from the Prophet (SAAS) (it is

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1. Kanz. 9/206.

2. See Tr. 4/291.

recounted that) he went out with his Companions to a burial-ground, in Mecca, and stopped at the head of a grave. He wept, and his friends wept because he did. Then he said (AS): "O that I knew what is his state!" And Jibrīl brought down to him this verse: "Truly We have sent you with the truth as a bearer of good news and an admonisher; so you are not responsible for those whose lot is Jahīm".<sup>1</sup> Then he said (AS) to his Companions: "Truly God has forbidden me to ask pardon for my parents or to pray for them. So let him whose parents have died as Muslims pray to God for them, and ask pardon for them". [26<sup>a</sup>] It is related in another Tradition that 'Īsā b. Maryam (AS) passed by a grave, and heard the dead being punished; so he returned from that grave, then came to it again after some days, and heard that mercy had been granted to him (lit. his mercy), and so he saw that the mercy of God had descended into that grave; and he asked him how he was, and the occupant of the grave said, "I was encompassed by the punishment of the grave, but I had a son who besought God for me, and called me to mind with alms" - and in another account He said, "I had a friend, and he said, Allāh akbar with a very sincere intention, and I had a share in that (good deed's) reward, and God relieved me of the punishment through that, and mercy descended instead". It is related in another report that the Prophet (SAAS) said, "How is it that you do not, when you do a good action, call to mind your fathers and mothers, with intention,

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1. Q. 2 vs. 119.

so that they may have a share in that (good deed's) reward without making your own rewards any the less?".

The Tradition transmitted from Anas b. Mālik (RAA) [26<sup>b</sup>] about the Prophet (SAAS), and a similar one from Abū Hurayra<sup>1</sup> about the Prophet (AS) is that he said: "Give to your dead a gift". They said, "O Apostle of God, what should the gift be)" and he replied, "Prayer and alms". Al-Ḥasan<sup>2</sup> said, "If the child ceases to pray for his parents, his (earthly) provision is reduced." (It is also related) from al-Ḥasan that the Prophet (AS) said, "Truly those most dutiful towards their parents are those who fulfil their duty to them while they are in their graves by performing the pilgrimage, or giving alms, or freeing a slave, or by vowing a vow to God (T). Do you not see in the legal principle (ḥukm) that whoever dies without performing a pilgrimage imposed upon him as a duty, or paying a debt owed by him, it is lawful to perform the pilgrimage or pay the debt on his behalf?". There are many Traditions on this matter, but what we have mentioned is sufficient.

#### Article 16

He must believe in the reality of the intercession of the Prophet (SAAS) on the Day of Resurrection on behalf of those of his Community who have committed grave sins.

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1. Abū Hurayra 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ṣakhr 'Alī al-Ash'har al-Yamānī d. 57/676 or 58/677 or 59/678. Shadh. 1/63.
  2. In B.N. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. f.16<sup>b</sup>; in Dār. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, p. 19. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ḥasan al-Baṣrī d. 110/728. Shadh. 1/136.



This is because he said (SAAS): [27<sup>a</sup>] "My intercession is for the people of my Community who have committed great sins on the Day of Resurrection".<sup>1</sup> Whoever denies the intercession and does not accept it as true is a heretic; and the evidence for it is that the intercession is confirmed by the saying of God (T) and the reports of the Prophet (AS). As for the Book, God (T) said: "A multitude of men of ancient time, and a multitude of men of modern time"<sup>2</sup> and His saying (T): "And your Lord will surely grant you, and you will be content".<sup>3</sup> He means He will grant him the (power of) intercession.

As for the Traditions, (there is) what Abū Ṭalḥa<sup>4</sup> relates, that the Prophet (SAAS) said: "Whoever calls down blessings upon me, his blessing comes up before me and he will be the first to receive my intercession on the Day of Resurrection";<sup>5</sup> also what was related concerning 'Ā'isha (RAA),<sup>6</sup> that she said: "I jumped up one night to the Prophet (AS), and that night was mine from among all his wives. So I came to his bed, but did not find him. I got up and began looking for him, and found him in the standing position at prayer; and when he bowed and praised, [27<sup>b</sup>] and remained bowed a long time, he began saying, 'O Lord, my Community, my

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1. Tr. 9/266.

2. Q. 56 vss. 39, 40.

3. Q. 93 vs. 5.

4. Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Ḥarām al-Anṣārī d. 34/654  
32/652. Tahdh. 3/414.

5. See Aḥm. 10/101.

6. 'Ā'isha the daughter of Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq and the wife of the Prophet. d. 57/676. Shadh. 1/61.

Community'; and he said this word so often that I thought he would never raise his head; so I began to weep; then I reached out and took hold of his cloak and pulled it, and said, 'What is this Community on behalf of which you have got into this state?'; so he raised his head and finished his prayer and gave the Taslīm. Then he said, 'O 'Ā'isha, do you wonder at that?; (I tell you then) as long as I am in this world, I will say, My Community, my Community, and I will say in the grave, My Community, my Community, so long as the Last Trump is not blown. Then when the Last Trump is blown, all the prophets, and all creation, will say, O Lord, myself, myself, but I will say, O Lord, my Community, my Community; and God (T) will say, O Muḥammad, ask and you will be granted (what you ask); intercede, and your intercession will be allowed, and I will say, O Lord, my Community, my Community; and God (T) will reply, O Muḥammad, truly I give you your Community, whoever has testified [28<sup>a</sup>] to the (Divine) Unity and believed in your Apostleship, I have made you intercessor for him'"<sup>1</sup> etc. to the end of the Tradition.

And another Tradition from Ibn 'Abbās (RAA) is that he said to Ka'b al-Aḥbār, "Did you believe in the time of the Apostle of God, or in the time of Abū Bakr, or in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?", and he replied, "I found a scripture in the Tawrāt, but my father had concealed that scripture from me, so I (only) discovered it in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. There was (written) in it that the

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1. Aḥm. 1/15.

Community of Muḥammad (SAAS) will enter Paradise on the Day of Resurrection in three groups, one group will enter Paradise without account being taken, a second group will be called to account lightly, and then enter Paradise, and there will remain those of his Community who have sinned grievously, and their Prophet will be made intercessor with God for them, and he will intercede for them, and they will enter Paradise through his intercession. When I saw that therefore, I became a Muslim. I said, 'I will not worry which of these groups I belong to!'. "

In this is sufficient for those who consider.

[28<sup>b</sup>] Article 17

He must believe that the Night of the Ascent, the Ascension of the Prophet into the Heavens, and his reaching the Throne, and to (a position) two bow-lengths or nearer, and admit that as a reality.

This is because if one denies the Ascent and contradicts the verses, he is an unbeliever in God, and whoever believes the verses but interprets them by his own opinion, and confesses (only) to his reaching Jerusalem, and denies his ascension into the heavens, or suspends judgment and says "I do not know whether he ascended or not", is a heretic and in error; and the evidence that the Night of the Ascension is a fact, and that his Ascension into the Heavens is a fact, is His saying (T): "Your comrade did not err, nor was he deceived, nor is he speaking on an impulse. It is nothing but a revelation taught to him by one mighty in

strength, possessing virility. And he came to rest while on the upper horizon; then he drew near and lowered himself, and so was (at a distance of) two bow-lengths or nearer; and he revealed to his servant what he revealed. The heart did not give the lie to what he saw. Are you then in doubt about what he saw? And [29<sup>a</sup>] he saw him on another descent at the Lote-tree on the furthest boundary, by which is the garden of refuge, when there covered the Lote-tree what covered it. The eye did not turn aside, nor did it play tricks."<sup>1</sup>

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Aḥmad b. Nuṣayr an-Nasafī

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-‘Unānī<sup>2</sup> in the

house of Abū Ya‘qūb al-Iṣṭahī in Kishsh

Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Jurjānī

Muḥammad b. Minhāl<sup>3</sup>

‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād<sup>4</sup>

Al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd-Allāh<sup>5</sup>

‘Abd-Allāh b. Mas‘ūd (RAA)<sup>6</sup>

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1. Q. 53 vss. 2-17.

2. Not in the N.B. see f. 18<sup>a</sup>.

3. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. al-Minhāl at-Tamīmī aḍ-Ḍarīr.  
d. 231/845. Shadh. 2/71.

4. Abū Bishr ‘Abd-al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād d. 186/802. Shadh. 1/310.

5. Abū ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh  
al-Kūfī. d. 116/734. 120/737. Tahdh. 8/321.

6. Abū ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ‘Abd-Allāh b. Mas‘ūd b. Ghāfil al-Hudhaylī  
d. 32/652. Tahdh. 6/27.

is that the Apostle of God (SAAS) said: "On the night when I was taken on a journey to Heaven, I saw Ibrāhīm (SASA), and he addressed me and I addressed him, and when I wished to go away, he said to me, 'O Muḥammad, give your Community [29<sup>b</sup>] greeting of peace from me, and tell them that Paradise is (a place of) good soil and sweet drink; for it awaits you with longing, so repeat often 'Glory be to God on His Throne', 'Glory be to God', 'Praise be to God', 'There is no god but God', 'God is Greatest', 'There is no might nor power but in God the Exalted, the Mighty'." <sup>1</sup> There are many Traditions on this matter through Ibn 'Abbās and others, but we have restricted ourselves to the Book of God; so understand.

#### Article 18

He must confess to the reading of (each man's) book (of account) on the Day of Resurrection, and hold it to be a reality, whoever denies the reading of the book, and does not believe the verses is an unbeliever in God, the Mighty.

This is because the reading of the book is a fact and the evidence for this is His saying (T): "And We have tied every man's fate on his neck, and we will .bring forth for him on the Day of Resurrection an account which he will find spread open - 'Read your account: may your own self suffice today as an account against you'" <sup>2</sup> and His saying (T): "As for him whose account is given to him behind his

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1. Kanz. 1/411.

2. Q. 17 vss. 13, 14.

back, he will cry for destruction, and be roasted in the burning fire"<sup>1</sup>, and His saying (A & J): "So those who are given their account in their right hand will read their account and will [30<sup>a</sup>] not be wronged one little fraction".<sup>2</sup> This is sufficient for him who has understanding.

### Article 19

He must believe in the reckoning and hold it to be a reality, whoever denies the reckoning and contradicts His saying (A & J) is a disbeliever in God the Mighty.

The evidence for that is His saying (T): "The Possessor of the Day of Judgment",<sup>3</sup> which means, "The Day of reckoning"; and His saying (T): "So he will be called to account with a mild reckoning";<sup>4</sup> and He said (T): "Would that I knew not what is my account";<sup>5</sup> and He said (T): "On the day when the account is set up,"<sup>6</sup>; and His saying (A & J): "May your own self suffice today as an account against yourself" (17 vs. 14);<sup>7</sup> and the Prophet (SAAS) said; when he mentioned wealth: "What is lawful of it (you will give) account of: what is forbidden of it (will bring) punishment".<sup>8</sup>

That is enough for the person of insight.

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1. Q. 84 vss. 10-12.

2. Q. 17 vs. 71.

3. Q. 1 vs. 4.

4. Q. 84 vs. 8.

5. Q. 69 vs. 26.

6. Q. 14 vs. 41.

7. Q. 17 vs. 14.

8. Kanz. 3/137.

## Article 20

He must believe in the balance and hold it to be a reality.

Whoever denies the balance and disbelieves the verses disbelieves [30<sup>b</sup>] in God, the Mighty One. The balance is a reality and the evidence for that is His saying (T): "And we will set the true balance for the Day of Resurrection, and no soul will be wronged the least bit".<sup>1</sup> He also said (T): "He for whom the balance is heavy (will be) in a life of satisfaction; but he for whom the balance is light, his home (lit. mother) (will be) the Pit".<sup>2</sup>

This is sufficient.

## Article 21

He must believe in the Şirāṭ and hold it to be a reality.

He who denies the Şirāṭ and does not hold it to be a reality contradicts (God's) saying (T): "And there is none of you but will come to it; it is an irrevocable decree of your Lord. Then we shall deliver those who feared (God), but we will leave the wrong-doers kneeling in it."<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "Truly your Lord is on the look-out";<sup>4</sup> He means the angels will watch men upon the bridge of Jahannam. He (the Prophet) also said (AS); "Truly God (T) created a bridge over Hell-fire; that is the Şirāṭ over the upper

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1. Q. 21 vs. 47.

2. Q. 101 vss. 6-9.

3. Q. 19 vss. 71-72.

4. Q. 89 vs. 14.

boundary of Jahannam. He set upon it seven arches finer than a hair, sharper than a sword, more slippery than a mirror and darker than night. [31<sup>a</sup>] Each of the arches is a walking-distance of 3,000 years, 1,000 years in ascent, 1,000 years in descent and 1,000 years upon the level. Every man will be confined in each one of the arches, and will be examined concerning what God has commanded him. In the first arch he will be examined as to his faith, in the second as to his performance of the prayers, in the third as to his fasting, in the fourth as to his alms-giving, in the fifth as to his pilgrimage, in the sixth as to his cleansing himself from ritual impurity, and in the seventh as to his fulfilment of his duty to his parents". Whoever denies the Şirāṭ and does not hold it to be a reality, and contradicts the verses (about it) in the Book, disbelieves in God.

## Article 22

He must know that Paradise and Hell-fire are already created and will never cease to exist, and to hold them as realities.

Whoever says that God (T) has not yet created them, and denies the Book of God (T) disbelieves in God [31<sup>b</sup>] (A & J), and whoever says that they are already created, but that they will cease to exist, and that the dark-eyed Houris will die, is a heretical Jahmite; for Paradise and Hell-fire are already created without doubt. Can you (lit. he) not understand (lit. see) His saying (T) to Adam: "Dwell in Paradise



you and your wife"<sup>1</sup> Thus if God (T) had not yet created Paradise, in which Paradise did He command them to dwell, forbidding Adam to eat of the tree in Paradise? For He said (T): "And eat of it in abundance wherever you wish, but do not go near to this tree, or you will be wrongdoers".<sup>2</sup> So if Paradise had not yet been created, where was that tree when Adam ate of it and disobeyed his Lord, and wronged himself? God (T) said: "And then they ate of it and their base parts became apparent to them";<sup>3</sup> so if Paradise had not yet been created, how could His command to them to dwell there and eat from it have been possible? That is absurd. Do you not see also that He said: "And Satan caused them to slip [32<sup>a</sup>] from it, and He put them out from (the place) that they were in".<sup>4</sup> If Paradise had not yet been created from where then did He put them out? That is also absurd.

The Prophet (AS) said: "On the Night of the Ascent I saw Hell-fire and Paradise, and the dark-eyed Houris". Know that the delight of Paradise is everlasting, without perishing nor ceasing, nor do its Houris die; for if anyone were to die in Paradise, what is the difference between it and the present world? Where would he be buried?" It is absurd that there should be a burial-ground in Paradise, for God (T) has proclaimed its eternity in His saying (T): "(Dwelling) eternally in it".<sup>5</sup>

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1. Q. 2 vs. 35.

2. Q. 2 vs. 35.

3. Q. 20 vs. 121.

4. Q. 2 vs. 36.

5. Q. 5 vs. 119 and many other places.

This is sufficient for the believer.

### Article 23

He must know that God reckons with His servants on the Day of Resurrection with no interpreter between Him and them.

He (T) will examine man, and man will answer to Him for what he has done, God said (T): "Surely your Lord will ask them all about what they have been doing".<sup>1</sup> He also said (T): [32<sup>b</sup>] "It (the Book) leaves no sin, either small or serious without bringing it into the reckoning, and they will find what they have done present (i.e. recorded), and your Lord will wrong no one".<sup>2</sup> He also said (T): "On the Day when their tongues, hands and feet testify against them concerning what they used to do".<sup>3</sup> He also said (A & J): "Their ears and eyes and skins bore witness to what they used to do".<sup>4</sup> Whoever denies the reckoning and disowns what is in the Qur'ān disbelieves in God.

These arguments are sufficient.

### Article 24

He must testify that the Ten Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) are in Paradise.

Whoever speaks abusively of these Ten or any one of them is in error and a heretic. For the Apostle of

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1. Q. 15 vss. 92-93.

2. Q. 18 vs. 49.

3. Q. 24 vs. 24.

4. Q. 41 vs. 20.

God (AS) has called them by their names, and said: "I (will be) in Paradise, and Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa,<sup>1</sup> Az-Zubayr,<sup>2</sup> Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās,<sup>3</sup> Sa'īd b. Zayd,<sup>4</sup> 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf,<sup>5</sup> and Abū 'Ubayda<sup>6</sup> 'Āmir b. al-Jarrāḥ<sup>7</sup> will all be in Paradise (RAA).

[33<sup>a</sup>] Article 25

He must know that there was no one among the family, nor the Companions, nor the Community of the Prophet (AS) more excellent than Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (RAA) and hold him to be rightfully Khalīfa<sup>8</sup> after the Prophet (AS).

Know that the excellence of Abū Bakr is sure and confirmed among the whole Community by the Book and by Tradition. As for (the proof from) the Book (there is) (God's) saying (T): "The second of the two, when they were in the Cave, and when he was saying to his companion, 'Do

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1. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd-Allāh b. 'Uthmān al-Qurashī d. 36/656. Tahdh. 5/20.
  2. Az-Zubayr b. al-'Awām b. Khuwaylid d. 36/656. Tahdh. 3/318.
  3. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās Mālik b. Wuhayb az-Zuhrī d. 55/674. Tahdh. 3/483.
  4. Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl al-'Adawī d. 50/670. Tahdh. 4/34.
  5. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf. az-Zuhrī d. 32/652. Tahdh. 6/244.
  6. Abū 'Ubayda 'Āmir b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Jarrāḥ d. 18/639. Tahdh. 5/73.
  7. Aḥm. 3/110.
  8. Khalīfa is lacking cf. B.N. f.20<sup>a</sup>.

not fear; God is surely with us".<sup>1</sup> He also said: "None of you is on a level with those who spent of their means and fought before the conquest (sc. of Mecca). Those are higher in rank than those who spent and fought after the conquest; but God has promised the best to all".<sup>2</sup> That is Abū Bakr (RAA). As for (the proof from) Tradition it is what is related about the Prophet (SAAS) (namely), that he said: "No one's wealth benefitted me so much as the wealth of Abū Bakr".<sup>3</sup>

This is sufficient.

#### Article 26

He must know that after Abū Bakr there is no one in the whole Community more excellent than 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA) [33<sup>b</sup>] and should hold him to be rightfully Khalīfa after him.

Know that his excellence is evident and well-known by His saying (T): "O Prophet, God and the believers who follow you are enough for you".<sup>4</sup> That is 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA). He also said (AS): "Follow the example of those who are after me".<sup>5</sup> He means Abū Bakr and 'Umar (RAA). The Prophet (AS) said: "There has never been a Community prior to my Community without a Mouth-piece, and if there is one in mine it must be 'Umar . Al-Faqīh said: "The Mouth-

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1. Q. 9 vs. 40.

2. Q. 57 vs. 10.

3. Tr. 13/129.

4. Q. 8 vs. 64.

5. Tr. 13/129.

piece is one upon whose tongue the angels give utterance". Some said that he is the inspired one. He said (AS): "I have two ministers (Wazīrs) in Heaven and two ministers (Wazīrs) on earth, the two in Heaven are Jibrīl and Mīkā'il, and the two on earth are Abū Bakr and 'Umar".<sup>1</sup>

This is sufficient for one truly informed.

#### Article 27

He must know that in this Community there is no one after Abū Bakr and 'Umar more excellent [34<sup>a</sup>] than 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (RAA) and regard him as rightfully Khalīfa after them.

His excellence to be evident, as the Prophet said (AS): "The most excellent in this Community after its Prophet are Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, then 'Alī". See that you do not abuse him or any of the others, so as not to corrupt your religion.

#### Article 28

He must know that there is no one in the Community of Muḥammad (SAAS) nor among his Companions, nor his family, after Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, more excellent than 'Alī b. Abī Talīb (KAW), and hold him to be rightfully Khalīfa after them.

His excellence is clear and evident and we have already mentioned him in the previous article. God said:

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1. Tr. 13/142.

"Muhammad is the Apostle of God, and they who are with him (he means Abū Bakr) are forceful against the infidels (He means 'Umar), are merciful among themselves (He means 'Uthmān), you will see them bowing and prostrating themselves in prayer (He means 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb) (RAA).<sup>1</sup> So see that you say nothing but good of them.

#### Article 29

[34<sup>b</sup>] He must not talk abusively of any of the Companions of the Prophet, nor slander them.

Whoever slanders them is a heretic. The Prophet (SAAS) said: "My Companions are like stars; whichever of them you take as your example, you are led aright".<sup>2</sup> He also said (AS): "He who hates the four is a hypocrite". He means Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī; so watch your tongue lest you slander any of them.

#### Article 30

He must know that God is wrathful and also of good-will, do not say that God's wrath (T) is Hell-fire, and His good-will is Paradise. Whoever says that is a heretic.

Know that God (T) possesses wrath and good-will, but that His wrath and good-will are not like our wrath and good-will. For if wrath and good-will enter into us they change us from our previous state, but God's wrath and

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1. Q. 48 vs. 29.

2. Kanz. 1/178.

good-will do not change Him from His state; because<sup>1</sup> we and the good and evil that (arises) from us are created and subject to change, but God (T) with all His attributes [35<sup>a</sup>] is uncreated and His wrath and good-will are His attributes, and (so) are uncreated, but Paradise and Hell-fire are created. Thus no created thing can be an attribute of the Creator, and Hell-fire becomes one's due by God's wrath, while Paradise becomes one's due by God's good-will (T). For He said (T): "Gardens beneath which flow rivers (in which) they (dwell) eternally; God is satisfied with them and they with Him: that is the supreme attainment".<sup>2</sup> Then God mentioned Paradise and His good-will apart (from each other), and He said (A & J): "Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself, and favour, and gardens in which they have lasting blessedness".<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "In the gardens of Eden but the favour of God is greater".<sup>4</sup> He also said (A & J): "God is satisfied with them and they with Him".<sup>5</sup> In these places He mentions His good-will and Paradise separately. As for His wrath, there is His saying (A & J): "Whoever slays a believer intentionally, Jahannam will be his requital; there he will (dwell) eternally and the wrath of God will be upon him",<sup>6</sup> [35<sup>b</sup>] and His saying (T): "Upon them will be the circuit of evil, and God is wrathful with

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1. Reading Li'anna instead of Lā.

2. Q. 5 vs. 119.

3. Q. 9 vs. 21.

4. Q. 9 vs. 72.

5. Q. 5 vs. 119.

6. Q. 4 vs. 93.

them and has cursed them and prepared for them Jahannam - how evil an end it is!".<sup>1</sup> God (T) mentioned Jahannam and wrath separately. Can one not see also in the legal principles that if a man were to disown his son by saying to his wife, 'This son is not by me; you have got it by adultery', while he has no witness to it who will testify for him, (the question is) What ought he to do? Is it not his duty to swear four oaths by God, and then with the fifth to say that the curse of God is upon him if he is a liar, then the woman to swear four oaths, then with the fifth to say, that the curse of God is upon her, if he is telling the truth? That would not pass (sc. on the assumption that Hell-fire and God's wrath were one and the same thing). So it is evident that the wrath of God is other than Hell-fire, and His good-will other than Paradise.

### Article 31

He must confess that the People of Paradise will see God (T) [36<sup>a</sup>] on the Day of Resurrection without doubt and a modality.

Know that believers will see their Lord on the Day of Resurrection without any resemblance or likeness (to creatures), just as a man sees the Moon on the night when it is full. Does anyone doubt,<sup>2</sup> when he looks at it,<sup>3</sup> that it is the Moon? Even so, the believers will see their Lord

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1. Q. 48 vs. 6.

2. Reading yashuk instead of yank.

3. Reading ilayhi instead of ilayka.



visibly and really, and will not doubt that it is their Lord, just as believers know their Lord without any resemblance or modality. Thus, he who denies the vision of God on the Day of Resurrection, and says they will not see Him with the physical eye (lit. the eye of the head), but with the eye of the heart, is in error and a heretic: for God (T) said: "To those who do well, the best and more (than the best)".<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (RAA) explained "more" as being "the vision of God (T)". He (God) also said (A & J): "Faces on that day will be resplendent, looking to their Lord".<sup>2</sup> (The Prophet)(AS) said: "You will surely see your Lord as you see the Moon on the night when it is full, nor will you be treated sparingly in (enjoyment of) seeing him".<sup>3</sup>

The Tradition transmitted through Abū-l-Ḥasan [36<sup>b</sup>]

[Abū] Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Ya'qūb

Ar-Rabī' b. Hassān

Yahya b. 'Abd-al-Ghaffār al-Kissī

Khalaf b. Ayyūb

Isrā'īl<sup>4</sup>

Ibn 'Umar (RAA)

is that the Prophet (SAAS) said: "The lowest in rank of the

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1. Q. 10 vs. 26.

2. Q. 75 vss. 22-23.

3. Tr. 1/18.

4. Isrā'īl b. Yūnis b. Abī Is'hāq al-Kūfī d. 160/776.

Jar. 1/141.

People of Paradise see His luxury and palaces and tents and His service at a distance of 1,000 years, but those of them most honoured by God (A & J) are those who see His face morning and evening".<sup>1</sup> Then (Ibn) 'Umar (RAA) recited this verse: "Faces on that day will be resplendent, looking to their Lord".<sup>2</sup>

In this is sufficient for one who understands.

### Article 32

He must know that the status of the prophets in the sight of God (T) is higher and more excellent than the status of the Walīs.

Thus, he who says that the Walīs have a status which the prophets do not have, or says [37<sup>a</sup>] that the Walīs have a status like that of the prophets is a heretic and in error.

This is something obvious which needs no argument, because the Walīs were given no message, and they only reach their own status after obedience to God and His Apostle; for obedience to the prophets (is included) in their obedience to God. That is (what is meant by) His saying (T): "And those who obey God and the Apostle are with the prophets and faithful ones to whom God has shown grace".<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "Him who obeys God and His Apostle He causes to enter gardens beneath which rivers flow".<sup>4</sup> He also said (T): "He

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1. Tr. 10/19.

2. Q. 75 vss. 22-23.

3. Q. 4 vs. 69.

4. Q. 4 vs. 13.

who obeys the Apostle has obeyed God".<sup>1</sup>

It is related in the Traditions about the Apostle of God (SAAS) that he said: "I am the Sayyid of the children of Ādam, but there is nothing to boast about in that",<sup>2</sup> and in another Tradition (he said): "On the night when I was taken on the journey to Heaven, I was set in the one pan of the balance and all my Community were set in (the other) pan, and I outweighed them; then Abū Bakr was set in the one pan and my Community in (the other) pan, and Abū Bakr outweighed them; then 'Umar was set in the one pan and my Community in (the other) pan, and 'Umar outweighed them; [37<sup>b</sup>] then 'Uthmān was set in 'Umar's place in the one pan and my Community in the other, and 'Uthmān outweighed them; then 'Alī was set in 'Uthman's place in the one pan and my Community in the other, and 'Alī outweighed them (RAA)".<sup>3</sup>

Under this heading there are many arguments from the Traditions, but they are so obvious that there is no need for them (to be mentioned here).

### Article 33

He must confess to the miraculous power (karāma) of the Walīs.

He who denies the miraculous power of the Walīs is in error and a heretic. Such a neglectful person as this only

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1. Q. 4 vs. 80.

2. Aḥm. 4/187.

3. Aḥm. 7/267-268.

denies the Walīs' miraculous power because he fancies that that would demolish the arguments in favour of the prophets (AS); but this is not the consequence except in one of three conditions - either, (that) he may deny the verses of the Book; but he who denies the verses<sup>1</sup> is an unbeliever: or, if he does not deny them but believes in them, he may say that they (i.e. the people the verses refer to) were prophets, and then he is an unbeliever: or, if he does not deny these verses, but believes in them, and does not say that they were prophets, then he admits that these miraculous powers were [38<sup>a</sup>] for other than prophets.

This is also possible because God (T) said: "He who had knowledge of the Book said, 'I will bring him to you before your eye can finish winking'".<sup>2</sup> That was Āṣif b. Barakhiyya, one of the Walīs of the people of Sulaymān (AS); but he was not a prophet. So since it was possible for miraculous power (to be given to) the Walīs of Sulaymān's people, how much more should it be so in the Community of Muḥammad (SAAS), when Muḥammad (AS) is better than Sulaymān (AS), and his Community better than the latter's Community? He said (T): "You are the best Community to be constituted (lit. brought out) for (the benefit of) people".<sup>3</sup> So if such a deluded one as this says, "That miraculous power was by authority of Sulaymān", it may be said to him, "These miraculous powers are by authority of Muḥammad (AS)".

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1. (al-āyāt) is lacking.

2. Q. 27 vs. 40.

3. Q. 3 vs. 110.

He also said (T): "And shake towards yourself the trunk of the date-palm: it will drop upon you ripe dates ready to be gathered".<sup>1</sup> God (T) made the dry tree green, and caused to sprout from that tree ripe dates, and these [38<sup>b</sup>] miracles were for Maryam, yet she was not a prophet, but faithful. He also said (A & J): "Whenever Zakariyyā entered her alcove he found provision with her. He said, 'O Maryam, where did you get this from?' She replied, 'It is from God'".<sup>2</sup> If someone says, "That ripe dates was a miracle of 'Īsā (AS), for it (i.e. the tree) cast them in that hour (i.e. the hour of his birth), it may be said to him, "If that ripe dates was a miracle for 'Īsā (AS), then for whom was (that) other miracle, when she was in her alcove worshipping God (T) in her house with her door always locked, and the key of it in the house of Zakariyyā (AS)? He used to open the door, and whenever he entered her presence he found provision with her, on summer days winter fruits, and on winter days summer fruits, and used to say, "O Maryam, from where did you get this?", and her reply was, "It is from God; truly God makes provision for whom He will regardless of the cost".<sup>3</sup> Yet 'Īsā was not yet in existence at that time. [39<sup>a</sup>] So if God showed generosity to His servant (worshipper), then who are you, O hypocrite? Therefore say you also, as Maryam said, "Truly God provides for whom He wills regardless of the cost".

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1. Q. 19 vs. 25.

2. Q. 3 vs. 37.

3. Q. 3 vs. 37.

Do you not see that God (T) mentioned the people of the Cavern and their story? They were seven persons, and they had with them a dog, whose name was Qiṭmīr. They were 80 years after 'Īsā (AS), and followed the religion of 'Īsā (AS), and God dealt bountifully with them and sent them to sleep. They remained in their Cavern for 300 years plus nine, and their dog was stretching out his fore-legs on the threshold. Then, when God (T) wakened them from that sleep, they found their food, and what they had with them, ready in its (previous) condition (?).<sup>1</sup> Thus God (T) dealt bountifully with them in that way, because they followed the religion of 'Īsā (AS) uprightly, and had fled from their king Daqyānūs (LA).<sup>2</sup> That is (the meaning of) His saying (T): "And they remained in their Cavern 300 years [39<sup>b</sup>] plus nine".<sup>3</sup> They were not prophets, nor (did they live) in the time of a prophet, but were in the period after 'Īsā (AS); so since it was possible for them to have miraculous power, then why should it not be possible that the Community of our Prophet (AS) should have miraculous power, when the unjust of this Community is better than the pious of Benī Isrā'īl? For He said (T): "You are the best Community constituted for (the benefit of) people; you will enjoin what is reasonable and forbid what is objectionable".<sup>4</sup> So if he denies it, and alleges that this

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1. Reading (bihīsha) not clear and does not exist in B.N. cf. f.25<sup>a</sup>. nor in Dār, cf. p.28.

2. The pagan king is named Dāqyūs (i.e. Decius). see A.J. Wensinck. E.I. 1/478-479.

3. Q. 18 vs. 25.

4. 3 vs. 110.

miraculous power never existed, he is an unbeliever.

So the sensible man must admit this miraculous power, and must know that the Community of our Prophet is better than all other communities, and that the miraculous power in his Community will be for his sake (SAAS).

And if this deluded one says, "It is only people's talk that such a one has gone in one night to the House of God (in Mekka) and returned, and is not true; for this was not for anyone but the prophets (AS), and the Prophet (AS)", he is an unbeliever. It may be said (in answer) to him: "Going to the House of God [40<sup>a</sup>] and returning from it in a night is not a thing to be wondered at, because God (T) caused His servant to travel in one night from Mekka (Bayt al-Ḥarām) to Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdis), then caused him to ascend to the Seven Heavens, and he reached, in the will of God, the distance of 14,000 years' (foot) travel. What miraculous power could be greater than that? So if one of his Community went in one night to the House of God (T) and returned, that is possible.

What then do you say? That the unbeliever, or the believer, is better? The believer of course, absolutely! For we find one who goes in one hour from East to West, and he is an unbeliever such as Iblīs or his like. But if one of the believers goes in a night to the House of God (T) and returns, and finds provision and eats it, then what harm does it do you, O erring one? Be diligent night and day that you become like him. The Walīs<sup>1</sup> only attain this

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1. In the B.M. "the prophets" but in the B.N. the Walīs.  
cf. B.N. f.25<sup>b</sup>.

miraculous power through obedience [40<sup>b</sup>] to God (T) and obedience to His Apostle (SAAS); and if the Walīs have no miraculous power, then who will have it?

This argument is sufficient for one who understands.

#### Article 34

He must know that God (T) by his justice makes the happy (sa'īd) miserable (shaqī) and by His generosity makes the miserable happy.

His is the Judgment: no one has (the power of) Judgment over Him, but God does what He wills, and decides as He wishes. "He cannot be called in question for His actions, but they will be called in question".<sup>1</sup> Know that the happy may become miserable and the miserable may become happy because, if it were otherwise, obedience would not benefit the obedient and transgression would do no injury to the disobedient, and the unbeliever would be excused in the sight of his Lord for his unbelief. The evidence that what we say is true is His Book (T) and the Traditions about the Apostle.

His Book (T) says: "God erases and confirms what He wills; with Him is the origin of the Book ..... and God judges; there is no gainsayer of His Judgment and He is very swift [41<sup>a</sup>] in reckoning".<sup>2</sup> He also said (T): "So far as He is concerned, if He wills anything He simply says to it, 'Be', and it is; so glory be to Him in Whose hand is the sovereignty over everything, and to Him you will

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1. Q. 21 vs. 23.

2. Q. 13 vss. 39-41.



return".<sup>1</sup>

In the Tradition he said, "Truly there is between man and Paradise only the distance of a span; then he commits sin and his doom is sealed in misery. Truly there is between man and Hell-fire only a span; then he acts well (that is, faith and good works) and his destiny is sealed in happiness."<sup>2</sup>

There is a similar tradition about 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA) that he used to say: "O God, if You have written my name in the roll of the wretched, transfer it to the roll of the happy", and 'Abd-Allāh b. Mas'ūd (RAA) used to pray that prayer.

So know that God (T) does not cause the reward for a man's deeds ever to be lost, because God (T) promised Paradise to those of His servants who do well. Therefore if a man is diligent and does well and acts obediently, [41<sup>b</sup>] God does not wrong him, nor cause the reward of his work to be lost. That is (the meaning of) His saying (T): "He who acts uprightly does so for himself, and he who does wrong does so against himself. Your Lord is not one who wrongs men".<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "Truly God does not cause the reward of well-doers to be lost".<sup>4</sup>

So he who says: "What is has already been (predestined); the Pen has dried and God has done what He willed" is a heretic.

But the Tradition which has come (to us), that "the

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1. Q. 36 vss. 82-83.

2. Kanz. 1/98.

3. Q. 41 vs. 46.

4. Q. 9 vs. 120.

happy is he who is happy in his mother's womb, and the wretched is he who is wretched in his mother's womb"<sup>1</sup> is in respect of provision, and his allotted span, and (the quality of his) life (sc. in this world). The provision of some men is more sparing, and the provision of others more liberal. The life of some men is shorter and of others longer: but this has nothing to do with religion (sc. its doctrine). Do you not regard His saying (AS): "Everyone is born in the Fitra", that is, "in the Milla" (i.e. Islām), "but his parents make him Jewish, Christian or Magian"?<sup>2</sup> So the destiny of any child (whether) of unbeliever, Jew, Christian,[42<sup>a</sup>] Magian, or believer is Paradise. For the Prophet (SAAS) said: "God lifted the Pen in respect of three (classes) - from the sleeper, until he awakes; from the mentally deranged, until he becomes sane; from the young child, until he reaches puberty".<sup>3</sup> So even if one were happy in his mother's womb and until he reaches man's estate, then does the deeds of the wretched, God (T) makes him wretched in His justice, even though he were happy in his mother's womb.<sup>4</sup> If it were otherwise, no one would be injured by his sin, nor would he benefit from his obedience, and that is exactly the doctrine of the Jabriyya.

This is sufficient for one to whom God gives insight.

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1. Kanz. 1/233.

2. Tr. 8/303.

3. Kanz. 4/137.

4. The idea is confused and one has to omit wa shaqiyyan fī baṭn ummihi in order to make it clear. cf. B.N. F.26<sup>b</sup>; Dār, p. 30.

Article 35

He must know that the mind of the Walīs and the believers is not equal to the mind of unbelievers, nor is the mind of any unbeliever equal to the mind of the prophets (AS).

Whoever says that all minds are equal is a heretic, and whoever says that God (T) gave the unbelievers [42<sup>b</sup>] a mind like to that which he gave the believers - what can be the state of such a misguided one who says such a monstrous thing as that?

Know that the mind is of five categories - The instinctive mind, the persevering mind, the (God) given mind, the prophetic mind and the noble mind.

The instinctive mind is possessed by all creation equally; for all unbelievers know that they have a Lord, and Creator, and Provider. They know that by the instinctive mind.

The persevering mind is possessed by those who strive much, and sit with the understanding so as to become wiser, and this mind is found in proportion to the trouble taken.

The (God) given mind is one in which the unbeliever has no part: but all believers have this mind equally.

The prophetically-endowed mind is one in which the believer has no part; it is the distinctive endowment of the prophets (AS) and the prophets (AS) all have it equally.

The mind endowed with nobility none [43<sup>a</sup>] of creation has any part in, but it belongs uniquely to Muḥammad. He had a noble mind and a mighty nature. God gave him such a nature as He never gave to any angel or human

being. That is (the meaning of) His saying (T): "Truly you are of a mighty nature".<sup>1</sup> Wahb b. Munabbih<sup>2</sup> said: "I have read 91 books of the prophets and have found written in all of them that if the minds of all creation were gathered, both of the ancients and of the moderns, and set beside the mind of the prophet, their minds, beside his mind (SAAS) would be like one grain of sand from the sands of (all) the deserts, because God (T) made the mind of 1,000 parts, and He gave 999 parts to Muḥammad (SAAS) and gave one part to whom He would of all His worshippers.

He who says that God (T) gave the Magians the same share as that which He gave to his Apostle becomes a Magian.

This is sufficient.

#### Article 36

He must know that God (T) [43<sup>b</sup>] is still creating, nor has His state changed (as a result of it).

He who says that God was not a Creator before He created created things, then, when He created them, He became Creator, is like one who says that God (T) was not a god, but then became a God. This view is unbelief and a logical absurdity. God (T) said: "God is Creator of everything."<sup>3</sup>

So whoever holds this view is an unbeliever.

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1. Q. 68 vs. 4.

2. Abū 'Abd-Allāh Wahb b. Munabbih d. 114/732. Shadh. 1/150.

3. Q. 39 vs. 62.

Article 37

He must know that God (T) is omnipotent, and omniscient, and has knowledge and power.

Know that one who really knows is one who has knowledge, but one who has no knowledge is called knowing either figuratively or by a false title; and one who is really able is one who has power, but one who has no power is called able either figuratively or by false title. The One Who is really able and really knows is God (T), and no figure nor title nor lie is possible in regard to Him.

Know also that He is really knowing and possesses knowledge, [44<sup>a</sup>] and is really able and possesses power; for He said (A & J): "And they comprehend nothing of His knowledge except what He wills".<sup>1</sup> He also said (T): "He revealed it (lit. sent it down) by His knowledge".<sup>2</sup> He also said (T): "No female becomes pregnant, nor gives birth, without His knowledge".<sup>3</sup>

So he who says other than that is a heretic.

Article 38

He must know that men (lit. the creation) leave this world in (one or other of) five categories - either polytheist, or hypocrite, or believer without sin, or believer, who is sinful yet repentant, or believer who is sinful but unrepentant.

Know that he who leaves this world as a polytheist

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1. Q. 2 vs. 255.

2. Q. 4 vs. 166.

3. Q. 35 vs. 11.

or as a hypocrite enters Hell-fire eternally; but if he leaves this world without sin or leaves it in repentance he enters Paradise and will be there eternally. He who commits grave sins and leaves this world unrepentant is subject to the will of God (T) in the next world: if He wills He will forgive him by His generosity, but if He wills He will punish him according to the measure of his sins by His justice, then let him into Paradise [44<sup>b</sup>] by His mercy. This is true according to the Book and Tradition.

In the Book He said (T): "God will not pardon being made to share His Divinity with another, but He will pardon whom He wills for anything less than that".<sup>1</sup>

In the Tradition, when God's saying (T) was revealed: "It has seven gates and to each gate a section is apportioned",<sup>2</sup> the Prophet (SAAS) said: "O Jibrīl, for whom is this gate?" and he replied: "One is for the sinners of your Community". The Prophet (SAAS) wept, and entered his house, and did not come out of his house for seven days except for prayer, nor did he speak to anyone, until God (T) promised him (the power of) intercession, saying: "There are indeed seven gates to Hell-fire. One of them is for the grave sinners of your Community who leave the world unrepentant, and God (T) will punish them in it according to the measure of their sins. Then they will be brought out of it believing (lit. in faith). Then they will be brought into Paradise by your intercession".

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1. Q. 4 vs. 48.

2. Q. 15 vs. 44.

There are besides [45<sup>a</sup>] many arguments concerning that from both verses and Traditions, but we have been brief.

So he who says (anything) other than this is a heretic.

#### Article 39

He must know that God (T) has done what He willed, and will do what He wills; whether men (lit. created beings) understand it as good or evil or not, God (T) knows it, and so all is justice and wisdom on His part, nor is it ever injustice in Him.

Whoever describes God (T) as unjust is an unbeliever; for He has done what He willed and will do what He wills. It is all wisdom on His part, and He is the Almighty over His whole creation, and the One Who knows everything and is able to do all things.

God (T) said: "Do you not know that God is Almighty; God surely knows whatever is in heaven and on earth, and apart from God you have no Patron nor Helper".<sup>1</sup>

He also said (T): "Do you not know that God possesses heaven and earth",<sup>2</sup> and "Do they not know that God knows what [45<sup>b</sup>] they keep secret as well as what they make public?".<sup>3</sup>

God (T) also said: "The Fashioner of heaven and earth, and if He decrees anything He simply says to it, 'Be',

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1. This verse is misquoted. cf. Q. 2 vss. 106-107;

Q. 22 vs. 70.

2. Q. 2 vs. 107.

3. Q. 2 vs. 77.

and it is";<sup>1</sup> and perhaps we dislike something, but it is better for us, or we like something, but it is worse for us; for He said: "And perhaps you dislike something though it is best for you, and perhaps you like something though it is worse for you: God knows but you do not".<sup>2</sup>

#### Article 40

He must know that what is written on the copies is really, and not figuratively, the Qur'ān, and that we really read it, and that it is really the Qur'ān which is among us, which we write on the copies, and which the children write on their slates.

Know that the Speech of God is uncreated, so if it is said that what is on the copy is not the Qur'ān, say, "Do you mean that Jibrīl (AS) revealed the Qur'ān from himself, or from God (T)? or that when Jibrīl heard [46<sup>a</sup>] the Qur'ān he heard it figuratively, or in reality?" For if he heard the Qur'ān in reality, but revealed it to Muḥammad (AS) figuratively, then he concealed the truth, but if he revealed it to him in reality, then he (i.e. Muḥammad) (AS) must have delivered it to his Community either in reality or figuratively. But if he delivered it figuratively, then he has concealed the truth.<sup>3</sup> If the believers heard the Qur'ān from the Prophet (SAAS) and after him (i.e. after his death) some of them, - 'Abd-Allāh b.

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1. Q. 2 vs. 117.

2. Q. 2 vs. 216.

3. The idea is confused in the B.M. but it is clearer in B.N. cf. B.N. f.29<sup>a</sup>.



Mas'ūd, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (RAA) - agreed that they should write the copies, and so wrote in them the Qur'ān, then there is no difference between what God (T) said, and what Jibrīl heard from God (T), and what Jibrīl conveyed (lit. threw) to Muḥammad (SAAS), and what the Prophet (AS) heard from him, and recited to God's creatures, and what is written in the copies [46<sup>b</sup>] and the Qur'ān are one and the same.

But God (T) gave utterance "without letters or syllables (hijā')", while Jibrīl heard from God with both letters and syllables: and Jibrīl recited to Muḥammad (AS) with letter and syllables, and Muḥammad (AS) recited to God's creatures (T) with letters, and we recite it and write it in the same way.

Know that that which we recite and write on the copies is the Qur'ān which Jibrīl and Muḥammad (AS) recited, and which God (T) uttered, neither more nor less by a single letter: and the paper upon which it is written, and the ink and the pen are all created, but what is written on the copies is the Qur'ān, uncreated, and he who says it is created is an unbeliever in God.

So if anyone asks you, "Did God utter the Speech?", say, "Of course!"; and if he says, "When did He utter it, or Where did He utter it, or How did He utter it, or How much did He utter?", then say, "Without any When or [47<sup>a</sup>] Where or How or How much". If he says, "In a subdued voice, or in a loud voice?", say, "Neither subdued nor loud". If he says, "Did He utter it with a voice or without a voice?", say, "Neither with a voice, nor without a voice".

Then if that misguided one says, "What is written, and the letters are created, because I write it, and it is an indication of (dāll 'alā) the Qur'ān, therefore the real Qur'ān is concealed and as if the Qur'ān is one thing in reality, and another figuratively, so that there are two Qur'āns",<sup>1</sup> that<sup>2</sup> is an absurdity.

Know that he who says that what is in the copy is not Qur'ān, has denied the revelation of the Qur'ān, and he who denies the revelation of the Qur'ān is an unbeliever in God (T).

If he says, "There is no Qur'ān in this world, nor in the copy", then say to him, Then where is the Qur'ān which God (T) uttered: "Who sent down the Furqān upon His servant,"<sup>3</sup> and said (T): "Alif Lām Mīm; that is the Book; There is no doubt about it",<sup>4</sup> and: "Alif Lām Mīm the revelation of the Book; there is no doubt about it",<sup>5</sup> and: "Truly it is We who have revealed to you [47<sup>b</sup>] the Qur'ān in reality",<sup>6</sup> and: "Alif Lām Mīm Ṣād a Book which has been revealed to you, so let there be no embarrassment about it in your breast".<sup>7</sup>

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1. There is another argument in Dār; it is "If this misguided one says: Some of the Qur'ān was revealed in reality and some of it was revealed figuratively, then there will be two Qur'āns. This is an absurdity".

cf. Dār, p. 33.

2. Reading wa hādhā instead of wa lā. cf. Dār, p.33.

3. Q. 25 vs. 1.

4. Q. 2 vss. 1-2.

5. Q. 32 vss. 1-2.

6. Q. 76 vs. 23.

7. Q. 7 vss. 1-2.

He also said (T): "Truly we have revealed it as an Arabic Qur'ān",<sup>1</sup> and He said (T): "'Why was this Qur'ān not revealed to a great man of the two towns'?"<sup>2</sup> He also said (T): "A Book whose verses were composed with exactness, and then given in detail."<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "Ṭā Ḥā We did not reveal the Qur'ān to you that you might be burdened".<sup>4</sup> He also said (T): "Ḥā Mīm by the clear Book, we have truly revealed it on a blessed night".<sup>5</sup> He also said (T): "And truly it is the revelation of the Lord of the universe which the faithful Spirit descended with upon your heart, that you might be a warner in a clearly understood Arabic tongue".<sup>6</sup>

He who alleges that there is not in the copies any Qur'ān, denies the revelation, and becomes an unbeliever; for the term "the Book" only applies to something in which there is something written. So if you admit the Book, then you admit that what is written is Qur'ān in reality, not figuratively. Do you not see that God commanded [48<sup>a</sup>] His servants to recite the Qur'ān - as much of it as was easy? So if what is written is not Qur'ān, then what is it we recite that it should be easy? Do you not see that God (T) commanded (that men should) listen to the recitation of the Qur'ān by His saying: "And when the Qur'ān is recited listen

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1. Q. 12 vs. 2.

2. Q. 43 vs. 31.

3. Q. 11 vs. 1.

4. Q. 20 vss. 1-2.

5. Q. 44 vss. 1-3.

6. Q. 26 vss. 193-195.

to it".<sup>1</sup> So know that he who recites the Qur'ān really and not figuratively, and he who listens hears it really and not figuratively.

God (T) said: "They hear the Speech of God, then they twist its meaning after they have understood it",<sup>2</sup> and He said (T): "If a polytheist asks you to give him hospitality, then give it to him that he may hear the Speech of God".<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "'Truly we have heard an amazing Qur'ān".<sup>4</sup> Do you not see that God (T) graciously granted His Prophet the Fātiḥa of the Book, when He said: "We have given you Seven Mathānī (words of praise) and the mighty Qur'ān".<sup>5</sup> So if the Fātiḥa is not found on the copies, then what was it that God (T) graciously granted His Prophet (AS)?

God (T) has also forbidden anyone to handle the Book [48<sup>b</sup>] except in a state of ritual cleanliness, when He said (T): "Truly it is a Noble Qur'ān in a carefully-kept Book, which none but the purified touch, a revelation of the Lord of the universe".<sup>6</sup> If no Qur'ān had in reality been in the copies, He would not have prohibited the handling of it.

He said (T): "An Arabic Qur'ān without ambiguities".<sup>7</sup> So if anyone asks you if the Qur'ān is that which God (T) uttered, or which Jibrīl heard, or which Jibrīl conveyed to

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1. Q. 7 vs. 204.

2. Q. 2 vs. 75.

3. Q. 9 vs. 6.

4. Q. 72 vs. 1.

5. Q. 15 vs. 87.

6. Q. 56 vss. 77-79.

7. Q. 39 vs. 28.

(lit. cast into) the Prophet (SAAS), or that which is written in the copies, or that which you yourself write, then you answer him as the jurists would answer him, and say to him: "God uttered without syllable after syllable, nor letter after letter, nor intonation after intonation, nor voice after voice, nor in a succession of time. God (T) made Jibrīl hear the Qur'ān, what is with Jibrīl is the Qur'ān, what Jibrīl (AS) brought down to Muḥammad (SAAS) is the Qur'ān, what Muḥammad (AS) [49<sup>a</sup>] recited to the people is the Qur'ān, and his Companions lengthened and shortened its letters."

Then if the one who contradicts says, "The written words and the letters are created, because I (can) write (them) and, if I wish, I (can) lengthen or shorten (them)",<sup>1</sup> then say to him, "If you lengthen the letters or shorten them, does the name of the letter arise from that or get erased as a result of it? Do you not see that a man says that such-a-one makes his recital long-drawn-out, and such-a-one lightens<sup>2</sup> the recital. Is it then necessary to say that the Qur'ān is long as a result of his lengthening it, or light because he lightens it? For whether he lengthens, shortens or lightens the recital, it is all of it the Speech of God (T). In the same way, whether he lengthens the writing of the Qur'ān or shortens it, he does not remove it from (the state of) being the Speech of God (T)."

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1. This question does not exist in B.M. but it is in B.N. f.31<sup>b</sup>; Dār. p.35.

2. Reading yukhaffif instead of yuḥaqqiq.

It may be said to him also, God (T) said: "Alif Lām Mīm that is the Book in which there is no cause of doubt",<sup>1</sup> and (suppose that) you have written it yourself; is what you have written simply what God uttered, or what you wrote? If he says, "That which I have written is the Speech of God", then he has admitted that what is in the copies is Qur'ān: [49<sup>b</sup>] but if he says, "I spoke it, but God (T) did not", then he has disbelieved in God and His Book.

This is sufficient for one who understands.

#### Article 41

He must know that faith is something real, not figurative, because men are all included in one or other of three classes - either, a man (lit. he) is a believer, or, he is an unbeliever, or, he is a hypocrite.

Whoever has not faith in reality is an unbeliever in reality. If one says that he who commits adultery, or kills a Muslim person wrongfully, or drinks wine, or is a sexual pervert, or takes another Muslim's wealth wrongfully, and neither prays nor fasts, etc., is a believer (figuratively), not in reality, then he is a heretic because of it, and his attitude has either one of two characteristics - either, he makes a believer an unbeliever because of his sins,<sup>2</sup> or, he believes that acts of obedience are part of faith, and he is in error on both counts.

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1. Q. 2 vs. 1.

2. The meaning of this sentence is not clear; this quotation is from Dār, p. 36.

It may be said to him, "If faith becomes figurative, through committing transgressions, [50<sup>a</sup>] then you ought to say that if the unbeliever prays and fasts and does all the good deeds, and drinks no wine, nor sheds blood, and commits no other transgression than that he does not believe, then his unbelief is figurative, and his unbelief will not be a reality."

Whoever does not think that the unbelief of the unbeliever who does not yet believe is a reality, becomes (himself) an unbeliever. For just as unbelievers are not removed from real unbelief by good works, so also the believer is not removed from real faith by committing transgressions, because God (T) called those who transgress by the epithet of belief when He said: "And repent to God all of you, O believers".<sup>1</sup> So say to him, "Has God (T) called them believers with real faith, or with figurative faith?" If he says, "God (T) has called them believers figuratively", he is an unbeliever, because metaphorical attribution is impossible [50<sup>b</sup>] except to one who cannot tell a man's faith from his lack of faith. But God (T) knows that sinner to be a believer in reality. He also said in another verse: "O you who believe, repent to God sincerely".<sup>2</sup> He did not say: "O unbelievers, repent to God", and He knows the state of men by His eternal knowledge; so if He calls them believers, then it is in reality, and that cannot be figurative.

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1. Q. 24 vs. 31.

2. Q. 66 vs. 8.

Mankind is included in one or other of three states, either, he is a believer in reality, or, he is a hypocrite in reality, or, an unbeliever in reality. If a believer has committed all transgressions then repents of them, God (A & J) pardons him, and brings him into Paradise. If he dies without repenting, he is in the will of God: if He wills, He pardons him by His generosity, or, if He wills, He punishes him according to his sins by His justice, then brings him into Paradise by His mercy.

Whoever judges otherwise than what we have mentioned in respect of believers who commit grave sins, [51<sup>a</sup>] is a heretic.

#### Article 42

He must know that if a man has a believer or adversary at law, and leaves this world without satisfying him, and has not repented of it to God (T), God will give to his adversary in the next world part of his good deeds equivalent to his (i.e. the adversary's) claim against him, and he must consider that as just on God's part.

Whoever sees (as right) the taking of the wealth of Muslims, but does not see (as right) the giving of good deeds to the adversary if he has not satisfied him in this world, and says that good deeds should not be given to the adversary at all, and "if my good deeds are given to my adversary, that is unjust", is a heretic. Such a one alleges that Adam (AS) died without dividing his property



among his children,<sup>1</sup> "so whatever wealth I have acquired and taken is lawful". This man's doctrine resembles the doctrine of the Magians; for they have intercourse with<sup>2</sup> their mothers and daughters.

This is correct according to the Qur'ān and the Traditions; so whoever says otherwise [51<sup>b</sup>] is a heretic.

#### Article 43

He must know that God's succour (tawfīq) coincides with action, and it is not possible to say that it is before the action or after it.

He who says that God's succour is before the action is a Jabrite, while he who says that God's succour is after the action is a Qadarite, and both of these are the Magians of this Community, in the Tradition of the Prophet.

Know that man has been given the power to act, and made responsible<sup>3</sup> for it, so that the onus is on him to find an excuse, but he was not given the power of succour (to himself), because succour is the attribute of the Lord (T). The Qadarite says, "Good and evil are from me, and God has no part in producing them", while the Jabrite says, "Good and evil are from God (T), and I have no part to play in it." The Qadarite ascribes Lordship to himself, while the Jabrite ascribes the creaturliness (that is, his creaturely behaviour) to God (T), because he says:-

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1. "Among his children" does not exist in B.M. but it is in Dār. cf. Dār. p. 37.
  2. Reading (liqurbānihim) instead of (liqurbātihi).
  3. Not clear in B.M. but reading kullifa in B.N. f. 33<sup>a</sup>.

"As long as I am not made to change (by God), I will not be changed (in myself)", [52<sup>a</sup>] while the Qadarite says:-

"As long as I do not myself make a change, I will not be changed."

The correct view in this matter is that he should know if his intention, effort and desire is to obey, and he seeks to satisfy God in it (i.e. obedience), then God's succour to him operates, and he finds God's succour to him close at hand: but he whose intention and effort is (set) upon transgression, finds that God's (T) abandonment operates and is close at hand.

That is what He (T) means when He says: "Those who strive in our cause, We will surely guide in our ways".<sup>1</sup> If it were as the Jabriyya said, all unbelievers would be excused in God's sight for their unbelief, and all transgressors for their transgressions. But if it were as the Qadariyya said, what they say appears to be that they are able to stop the exercise of power from God to themselves, and that is unbelief and an absurdity, because it attributes lack of ability to God (T), which is similar (to the view) that man is independent of God (T). [52<sup>b</sup>]

Therefore know for certain that power (to act) in the view of the People of the Sunna comes along with the action neither before nor after.

God said (T): "You are the poor to God and God is the wealthy the praiseworthy".<sup>2</sup> He also said: "Say, I

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1. Q. 29 vs. 69.

2. Q. 35 vs. 15.

possess for myself neither benefit nor injury unless God wills",<sup>1</sup> and He said (T): "God is the Rich One and you are the poor".<sup>2</sup>

This is sufficient.

#### Article 44

He must know that faith involves two members, the heart and the tongue, except in the case of one with an excuse (such as) the dumb and the deaf.

The tongue is of no value without the heart in any case. Faith is the Knowledge of God (T) in the heart in respect of His Godhead and His Lordship; and Knowledge in the heart that He is One. That is Monotheism (tawhīd) on the part of man.

Confession with the tongue and knowledge of Monotheism (tawhīd) is the essence of faith. Thus, he who confesses with the tongue that He is one, but does not know in his heart that He is one, is a hypocrite: and he who knows God [53<sup>a</sup>] in his heart, but does not confess with his tongue that He is one, is an unbeliever.

That is what He means when He says (T): "So know that there is no god but God".<sup>3</sup>

That is sufficient for the understanding.

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1. Q. 7 vs. 188.

2. Q. 47 vs. 38.

3. Q. 47 vs. 19.

Article 45

He must know in his heart that He (God) is one and confess with his tongue that He is one.

He who Knows God (T) in his heart, but does not confess with his tongue is an unbeliever: and he who confesses with his tongue, but does not Know in his heart is a hypocrite. He who says that faith is in the heart apart from the tongue is a Jahmite, and he who says that faith is on the tongue apart from the Heart is a Karrāmīte.

People have different views about faith. Some say that faith is utterance of the tongue without Knowledge in the heart. They are the Murji'a and the Karrāmiyya. Others say that faith is confession with tongue, Knowledge in the heart and acting with the limbs (i.e., physical behaviour). They are heretics, innovators and non-conformists. Others say that faith is Knowledge in the heart apart from confession with the tongue. They are the Jahmiyya, the abominable ones. [53<sup>b</sup>]

All we have mentioned about these three groups is useless, and heresy.

The correct doctrine in this matter is that you know that faith is confession with the tongue, and knowledge in the heart. It is like the piebald horse; if it were all white it would be called "pure white": if it were all black it would be called "jet-black", but if it has in it both black and white, it is called "piebald". Thus we say confession with the tongue without Knowledge of the heart is called "hypocrisy", and the Knowledge of the heart with-

out the confession of the tongue is called unbelief. If however the two are joined, then it is faith. It is also like Arsenic and Whitewash.<sup>1</sup> For Arsenic does not remove<sup>2</sup> hair if there is no Whitewash with it: and Whitewash does not remove hair [54<sup>a</sup>] if there is no Arsenic with it. If however they are joined, then hair is removed.

There are many other comparisons.

Faith is the Knowledge of God (T) in the heart, and confession with the tongue without modality, and Islām is Knowledge in the heart with confession with the tongue, and acceptance of God's Command (T).

So understand.

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1. This practice is very well known in some of the Islamic countries. Lane says the following about the composition of that depilatory agent:

A mixture of quicklime and Arsenic used for removing hair. It is a depilatory composed of lime with a small proportion [about one eighth part] of orpiment; it is made into paste with water before application, and loosens the hair in about two minutes; after which it is immediately washed off. Thus made in the present day. See Lane, E.W. Arabic English Lexicon, 8/2866. London, 1893.

2. Lā yahliq is repeated.

Article 46

He must not assert a resemblance between God (T) and any other thing, and must know that nothing resembles Him (T) nor is He to be likened to anything.

He said: "Nothing can be compared with Him. He is the Hearer, the See-er".<sup>1</sup>

God (T) is the creator of all things, the heavens, the earth(s), and what is between them.

The Creator is not to be likened to the created, just as the manufacturer is not to be likened to what he makes, nor to the way he makes it. If it is not right that man should resemble what he makes, then much less should God resemble His creation and what He makes. Whoever likens God (T) to anything, or asserts that He possesses a member is called a Karrāmīte and an Anthropomorphist. [54<sup>b</sup>] If he says: "Describe your Lord to me", say to him: "God is one, the eternal. He has begotten none, nor was He begotten"(112),<sup>2</sup> and "He is the first and the last, the outward and the inward",<sup>3</sup> and say: "There is no god but God, the single, the one, who has taken no consort nor any children, and to Him we surrender ourselves".

Article 47

He must not ascribe to God location, nor speak of His presence, nor of His coming and going, nor describe Him by

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1. Q. 42. vs. 11.

2. Q. 112 vss. 1-3.

3. Q. 57 vs. 3.

anything resembling created things.

This is because the perfection<sup>1</sup> of faith is that one should know, and strive to know, God, but not to know in Him modality.<sup>2</sup>

He said (A & J) to Mūsā (AS) when communing with him: "O Mūsā, know two things, but do not (try to) know two other things; know that I am God, but do not assert (in Me) modality, and know that I am the One Who provides, but do not (claim to) know whence I bring provision".

Know that God set Himself upon the Throne, not above the Throne, for He (T) said: "The Merciful One, Who is set on the Throne".<sup>3</sup> [55<sup>a</sup>] He is upon the Throne, not above it; for "above" is only applied to created things, whereas "on" has no limit except as God wills. All places are His, but He is not in a place, and He has no need of the Throne, but the Throne exists by His power.

Coming and going are not to be ascribed to Him. Coming and going amount to one of three things - either, that He is not seen wherever He is. Then He draws near and is seen, or, that he is not heard wherever He is then. He draws near and is heard or, that He is not measured, and then draws near and is measured.

He who ascribes this to God (T) therefore, or believes, this, is an unbeliever in God (A & J).

As for the verses in which God has mentioned coming and arrival, and the Tradition from the Prophet (SAAS)

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1. Reading al-Īmān instead of al-arba'īn.

2. Reading Kayfiyya instead of Kaffiyya.

3. Q. 20 vs. 5.

concerning the descent of God and suchlike, he must believe in it but not explain it; for he who explains it enters [55<sup>b</sup>] into the doctrine of Ta'tīl (Denudation of Attributes) and becomes a heretic.

If you explain coming, going, eye, hand, self, etc., you become an Anthropomorphist. If you see an ambiguous verse or Tradition, leave it to God (T), and do not (try to) explain it, that you may escape giving a wrong explanation.

#### Article 48

He must know that, as we have already defined it, earning is sometimes obligatory, because God (T) said: "Shake to yourself the trunk of the date-palm, etc."<sup>1</sup> and He said (A & J): "We made the day-time for a livelihood".<sup>2</sup> If earning is not an (obligatory) duty, and man needs not to earn, then in that case earning is a customary practice (Sunna).

Know that to leave aside earning is (God's) indulgence (towards man) and to deny (the need for) earning is heresy: but to regard earning as the cause of our provision is unbelief.

Know that he who does not regard earning as a duty, but sees this as heresy, is a Karrāmite heretic: but he who regards [56<sup>a</sup>] provision as coming from earning is an unbeliever and polytheist.

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1. Q. 19 vs. 25.

2. Q. 78 vs. 11 misquoted; reading ja'alnā instead of ja'al.



Earning should be subordinate to certainty (viz. of provision) and reliance upon the certainty of it; and if earning is not subordinate to certainty and reliance upon it, then it is unbelief. For God (T) said: "God Who created you, then provided for you, then causes you to die, etc."<sup>1</sup>

Know that provision does not increase with earning, nor does it decrease with ceasing to earn, and God (T) does not decrease the provision of an evil-doer because of his evil-doing, nor does He give provision to the well-doer because of his well-doing. For He said (T): "And He blessed it and measured in it its food-supplies".<sup>2</sup> He also said (T): "There is nothing which has not its store-chambers in Our care, etc."<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "And by the Lord of Heaven and Earth, it is the truth, just as that you are articulate".<sup>4</sup> He also said (T): "And I only created the Jinn and Mankind that they might worship Me. I do not desire sustenance from them."<sup>5</sup>

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū Muḥammad [56<sup>b</sup>]

Abū-l-Qāsim

Aḥmad b. Naṣr

Abū Ya‘qūb-al-Istanjī

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1. Q. 30 vs. 40.
  2. Q. 41 vs. 10.
  3. Q. 15 vs. 21.
  4. Q. 51 vs. 23.
  5. Q. 51 vss. 56-57.

Muḥammad b. Mūsā-al-Kissī  
 Abū-l-Qāsim b. ‘Abbād  
 Al-Munqidh b. Ja‘far  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Alī  
 Muḥammad b. Ja‘far-al-Kūfī<sup>1</sup>  
 Aslam b. Hib̄t  
 Khālīd b. Šubayḥ<sup>2</sup>  
 ‘Amāra<sup>3</sup>  
 Al-Ḥakam<sup>4</sup>  
 Ibn ‘Abbās (RAA)

is that the Prophet (SAAS) said: "Whoever does not regard earning as an obligatory duty upon himself of the same order as fasting and prayer is a heretic". Ibn ‘Abbās was asked, "What earning is that?", and he replied: "Carrying stones from the tops of mountains".

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan  
 Abū Muḥammad  
 Abū-l-Qāsim  
 [57<sup>a</sup>] Abū Ya‘qūb  
 Ibn Ahmad b. ‘Abbās

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1. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kūfī d. 230/844. Tahdh. 9/95.
  2. Khālīd b. Šubayḥ al-Marwazī. Jar. 1/229.
  3. ‘Amāra b. Ghaziyya d. 141/758. Shadh. 1/209.
  4. Abū Muḥammad al-Kindī al-Ḥakam b. ‘Uṭayba d. 115/733. Shadh. 1/151.

An-Nasafī

Muḥammad b. Yazīd<sup>1</sup>

Yahyā

‘Abbād b. Kathīr<sup>2</sup>

Sufyān

Manṣūr<sup>3</sup>

Ibrāhīm<sup>4</sup>

‘Alqama<sup>5</sup>

‘Abd-Allāh b. Mas‘ūd

is that the Prophet (SAAS) said: "The seeking of permitted earning is an (obligatory) duty after the fulfilment of the (obligatory) duty of prayer".<sup>6</sup>

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Rāhib-al-Kissī

Ar-Rabī‘ b. Ḥassān

Yahyā b. ‘Abd-al-Ghaffār-al-Kissī

Khalaf b. Ayyūb

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1. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Wāṣiṭī d. 188/803. Shadh. 1/320.
  2. ‘Abbād b. Kathīr ath-Thaqafī died between 140/757  
150/767. Tahdh. 5/100.
  3. Manṣūr b. Zādhān al-Baṣrī d. 131/748. Shadh. 1/181.
  4. Abū ‘Umrān Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd an-Nakha‘ī. d. 75/694.  
Shadh. 1/111.
  5. Abū Sahl ‘Alqama b. Qays an-Nakha‘ī d. 62/681.  
Shadh. 1/70.
  6. Kanz. 4/4.

Abū Mu‘āwiyā<sup>1</sup>

Al-A‘mash<sup>2</sup>

Al-Musayyib<sup>3</sup>

Nāfi‘

‘Abd-Allāh b. Mas‘ūd (RAA) [57<sup>b</sup>]

is that the latter said, "I hate to see a man sitting idle not (employed) in work either of this world or of the world to come".

The Tradition transmitted through

Abū-l-Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad

Abū-l-Qāsim

Abū Bakr

Ar-Rabī‘

Yahyā

Muhammad b. ‘Abd-Allāh<sup>4</sup>

is that Sufyān ath-Thawrī said, "It was reported to me that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA) said in a sermon: "Whoever of you works we praise, but whoever of you does not work we hold guilty": but God knows better.

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1. Abū Mu‘āwiyā aḍ-Ḍarīr Muḥammad b. Mu‘āwiyā al-Kūfī a companion of al-A‘mash. d. 195/810. Shadh. 1/343.
  2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-A‘mash. Jar. 2/56.
  3. Al-Musayyib b. Rāfi‘ al-Kūfī d. 105/723. Shadh. 1/131.
  4. Abū Aḥmad az-Zubayrī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd-Allāh al-Asdī d. 203/818. Shadh. 2/7.

Article 49

He must know that action (or "works" - 'amal) is different from faith.

Know that faith is an (act of) obedience, but not every (act of) obedience is (an act of) faith, just as unbelief is transgression, but not every transgression is (an act of) unbelief. This is in our opinion correct by the Book, the Tradition, the legal principles, reason and the testimonies.

In the Book He said (T): "Everyone believes in God",<sup>1</sup> but He did not say: [58<sup>a</sup>] "Everyone acts in God. He also said (T): "Believe in God and His Apostle",<sup>2</sup> but He did not say: "Act in God and His Apostle". Do you not see that He said, "Believe in Me and My Apostle", but did not mention action?

He also said (T): "And when your Lord took from the human race their descendants from (the time when) they appeared, etc."<sup>3</sup> He also said: "'O our Lord, we believe; so write us with those who testify';...and God rewarded them, in accordance with what they said, with gardens",<sup>4</sup> but He did not mention action, yet promised them Paradise in that statement.

He also said (T): "And those who believe in God and His Apostle, they are the faithful ones",<sup>5</sup> but He did not

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1. Q. 2 vs. 285.

2. Q. 4 vs. 136.

3. Q. 7 vs. 172.

4. Q. 5 vss. 83-85.

5. Q. 57 vs. 19.

mention action.

He also said (T): "'O our Lord, we have heard a herald proclaiming, etc.",<sup>1</sup> but He did not mention action.

He also said (T) about the Magicians of Fir'awn, when they said: "'We believe in the Lord of the universe, the Lord of Mūsā and Hārūn'",<sup>2</sup> but He did not mention action.

In the Traditions, Jibrīl (AS) asked the Prophet (AS) and said: "O Muḥammad, what is faith?", and he said: "That you believe [58<sup>b</sup>] in God, etc., but he did not mention action. Then he (Jibrīl) said: "What is Islām?", and he said: "That you perform the prayer, etc."<sup>3</sup> Do you not see that Jibrīl (AS) asked the Prophet (SAAS) about faith apart, and about the duties of the Sharī'a apart, which indicates that faith is distinct from action.

The Prophet (SAAS) also said to Mu'ādh b. Jabal:<sup>4</sup> "O Mu'ādh, go and proclaim among the people that whoever says, 'There is no god but God', whole-heartedly and sincerely (he means, with the heart), Paradise is due to him".<sup>5</sup> He also commanded Abū-d-Dardā',<sup>6</sup> saying: "Go and proclaim that whoever says 'There is no god but God', three

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1. Q. 3 vs. 193.

2. Q. 7 vss. 121-122.

3. Tr. 10/75.

4. Mu'ādh b. Jabal al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī d. 18/639.

Shadh. 1/29.

5. Kanz. 1/268-269.

6. Abū-d-Dardā' 'Uwaymir b. Zayd b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Khazrajī d. 32/652. Shadh. 1/39.

times, Paradise is due to him". Abū-d-Dardā' said:  
 "Even if he fornicates or steals?". He replied, "Yes, even  
 if he fornicates or steals - even if he fornicates or steals,  
 in spite of the disdain of Abū-d-Dardā'!"<sup>1</sup>

He also said (AS)[59<sup>a</sup>]: "O 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit,<sup>2</sup> go  
 and proclaim, 'He who says, there is no god but God,  
 Paradise is due to him'".<sup>3</sup>

If anyone says, "these Traditions were spoken by the  
 Apostle of God before the religious duties were revealed",  
 then say to him, "Is it not part of your doctrine that the  
 Traditions are not to be interpreted? How then is it  
 permissible for you to interpret?"

In the legal principles, the Prophet (SAAS) commanded  
 that pilgrimage should be made for the dead, but did not  
 command (the exercise of) faith for the dead. Do you not  
 see that if a man dies and leaves (unperformed) a prayer or  
 a fast or a pilgrimage or a tithe (zakāt) imposed as a duty  
 on him, it is lawful to perform the pilgrimage on his behalf,  
 or pay one third of his wealth for it, two Mans of wheat  
 for every prayer or for every day's fast, and to pay tithe  
 of his wealth for him after his death? But if he were an  
 unbeliever who died and left all the world behind him, and  
 it were given on his behalf [59<sup>b</sup>] after him (i.e. after his  
 death), it would not stand in place of faith. It would be

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1. Kanz. 1/49.

2. 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit b. Qays al-Anṣārī d. 35/655.

Shadh. 1/40.

3. Kanz. 1/48.

worthless because faith is distinct from action. If complete obedience had been faith, its full performance on behalf of the unbeliever would stand in the place of faith.

Do you not see that God (T) said: "For each one of you We have made a divine Law and a path of duty".<sup>1</sup> He also said: "To each one of them there is a divine Law and a command different from that to the other":<sup>2</sup> so is the faith of one of them different from the faith of another? Thus since the faith of the prophets (AS) is one, but their divine Law is different (in each case), we know that faith is distinct from action, because it is not possible that one of them should have less faith and another more.

In the testimonies, do you not see that faith is permanent but action is not permanent? Do you not see that if a man prays before the time of ritual prayer his prayer is not valid, and if he fasts before the month of Ramaḍān [60<sup>a</sup>] his fast is not valid for Ramaḍān? So even if an unbeliever did all the acts of obedience before he believed, he does not become a believer, because faith must be before action, and faith is permanent, but action takes place from time to time (on one occasion after another), while faith has no (particular) time.

From the point of view of reason, do you not see that if an unbeliever believed on top of a dung-heap, his belief would be valid, but if he performed the ritual prayer on top of a dung-heap, his prayer would not be valid? Yet if acts

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1. Q. 5 vs. 48.

2. ?



of obedience were part of faith, then his prayer on an unclean place would be valid, just as faith is valid.

Do you not see that if a woman in menstruation prays or fasts or performs the pilgrimage that would not be valid? But if her prayer and her fasting and her pilgrimage are not valid, do you say she is an unbeliever? In the same way, also, if a ritually unclean person, or a menstrual woman, or a man who has uncleanness on his clothes or his body, believes, is his faith valid or not? Of course it is valid! But if he prays in this sort of state his prayer is not valid. If you say [60<sup>b</sup>] that action, and acts of obedience and faith are the same, then why is part of it valid by the legal principles, while the other part is not valid?

Do you not see also that the believers will be in Paradise believers without action? Because they do not pray, nor fast, nor perform pilgrimage, nor pay tithe, will they be in a state of perfect faith or not? If they are in a state of perfect faith, it is thus evident that action is different.

Do you not see that God (T) said: "Believe in God and His Apostle?"<sup>1</sup> If action were part of faith, it would be right to act for the Apostle of God and to pray to him, as one acts for God and prays to God (T), because faith in Muḥammad (AS) is an (obligatory) duty as faith in God is an (obligatory) duty. So since it is not right that action should be performed for the Apostle as it is performed for God (T), it is apparent that faith is other than action,

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1. Q. 4 vs. 136.

and action other than faith.

There are many arguments on this matter.

#### Article 50

He must know that the faith of the well-doer and of the evil-doer is the same (equal) [61<sup>a</sup>], the faith of Jibrīl and Mīkhā'īl is all the same, and our faith and the faith of the apostles, angels and prophets is the same.

He who says that the faith of evil-doers is less than the faith of the angels and prophets is an erring heretic; for God (T) said: "God bears witness that there is no god but He, and the angels and those who have knowledge",<sup>1</sup> that is, those who have knowledge here, the believers.

Ask him: "How did the angels utter this statement? Did they say it as God (T) said it? or less? or more?" If he says: "They spoke less than the saying of God," or "more", then he may be contradicted. But if he says, "Just as God said it", then say (in answer): "Did you say more than God said, or less than God said?" Then if he says: "Less" or "More", that is absurd. But if he says: "In the same way as God said it", then it may be said to him, "Then what is the difference between you and the angels as regards faith?"<sup>2</sup> The angels are superior to us in actions and deeds, not in faith, because all faith is one and the same".

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1. Q. 3 vs. 18.

2. The idea is not clear here and one has to consult

B.N. f. 39; Dār. p. 42.

And say to him: "Does Jibrīl believe in what you believe in, [61<sup>b</sup>] or in something else? For if Jibrīl believes in anything that you do not believe in, that is not faith but unbelief. But if you believe in what Jibrīl believes in, then your faith and his are the same." Say also to him: "You must say in your doctrine that our faith is more than Jibrīl's, because God (T) created Jibrīl and gave him understanding, but no "Libido" (lust); but He gave us both understanding and Libido, and God (T) commanded us to perform the prayer, to fast, to pay tithe, to perform the pilgrimage, and to wash ourselves clean of ritual impurity. So if we fulfil all that, our faith is better than that of Jibrīl (AS), but whoever says that is a heretic". Say also to him: "Did God (T) command His Prophet to call His creation to faith or not?" If he says: "Yes, He commanded him to do that", then say to him: "Did the Prophet call them to it or not?" If he says: "He called them to it", then say, "Did God (T) desire [62<sup>a</sup>] perfect faith, or less? If he says: "He desired perfect faith", then say, "Is perfect faith what the Prophet (AS) said, namely, Whoever says, there is no god but God, whole-heartedly and sincerely from his heart enters Paradise? He summoned the creation of God (T) (for a period of) nine or ten years to this, then there came the command of God (T) (to keep) the (obligatory) duties and the customary duties (sunna). So are those of the community who died in those years perfect in that they died in a state of faith, or are they less than perfect?" If he says: "They died in a state of perfect faith", then he concedes that faith is perfect and one; but if he says:

"They died in a state of imperfect faith", then he gives verdict that they are in Hell-fire, and whoever judges that they are in Hell-fire gives the lie to the Apostle of God (SAAS), and himself ends up in Hell-fire.

And say: "Did the Prophet (AS) call the creation of God (T)<sup>1</sup> to his faith, or something other than his faith?" If he says: "Certainly, he called them [62<sup>b</sup>] to his faith", then say: "And did you believe in that faith, or in something else?". If he says: "(I believed) in it", then say: "Your faith and the faith of the Prophet (AS) are the same; but if you believe in something other than that faith, then you are not a believer". Say also to him: "God (T) has imposed faith on His worshippers as an (obligatory) duty. Have you responded to Him (by accepting) the faith which He has imposed or not?" If he says: "Of course I have responded to Him", then say, "Did you respond perfectly, or less than perfectly?" If he says: "I have responded perfectly", he concedes that faith is one: but if he says: "I have not responded perfectly", then the miserable man is an unbeliever.

Do you not see that God (T) said: "And if they believe in the same way as you believe, then they are led aright".<sup>2</sup>

Say to him also: "Tell me, if a man says, "There is no god but God: Muḥammad is the Apostle of God", and an angel says the same thing, are they both speaking the truth,

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1. (hal min du'ā' ahl-an-Nār) is a misplaced sentence in B.M. cf. B.N. f.39<sup>b</sup>.

2. Q. 2 vs. 137.

or is one of them truthful and the other lying?" If [63<sup>a</sup>] he says: "They are both true", then know that there is no difference between the faith of the angel and the human being, and no superiority of the one over the other as regards faith. Men simply differ from one another in their actions, not in faith. So he who believes in what Jibrīl revealed to Muḥammad (SAAS), though he drinks wine, or adulterates, or steals, has the same faith as the angels and the prophets.

Whoever does not believe that is in error.

#### Article 51

He must admit that the Resurrection after death is a reality.

He who denies the Resurrection after death is an unbeliever in God (A & J), and is called a Dahrī.

The evidence of the correctness of this is His saying (T): "And that the Hour is coming; there is no doubt about it: and that God will raise those who are in the graves",<sup>1</sup> and His saying (T): "On the day when God will raise them all" and "on the day when they shall be brought back to Him,"<sup>2</sup> [63<sup>b</sup>] and His saying (T): "To Him belongs the Dominion, and to Him you will be returned".<sup>3</sup> "Say, the angel of death who has been given charge over you will call you in, then to your Lord you will be brought back".<sup>4</sup>

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1. Q. 22 vs. 7.

2. Two different verses joined in one verse, cf. Q. 58 vs. 6; Q. 24 vs. 64.

3. Q. 36 vs. 83.

4. Q. 32 vs. 11. Reading ilā rabbikum instead of ilayhi.

"From it We have created you and to it We will return you, and from it We will bring you back a second time".<sup>1</sup> "Is such a One as that not able to raise the dead to life?"<sup>2</sup>

## Article 52

He must admit that the Resurrection and the Hour are a reality, and he who denies them is an unbeliever in God (T).

They are a reality and to prepare oneself for them is a duty, because He said (T): "And the Trumpet will be blown and all Heaven and Earth will be stunned except whom God wills".<sup>3</sup> He also said (T): "When the Event happens",<sup>4</sup> and "the Calamity - What is the Calamity?",<sup>5</sup> "The Crack of Doom - What is the Crack of Doom?".<sup>6</sup> He also said (T): "...for the Day of Separation - What will tell you what the Day of Separation is?",<sup>7</sup> and He said (T): "Truly the Day of Separation is a Rendez-vous".<sup>8</sup> He also said (T): "On the Day when the Trumpet will be blown, and you will come [64<sup>a</sup>] in flocks".<sup>9</sup> He also said (T): "For a Great Day, a Day when

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1. Q. 20 vs. 55.

2. Q. 75 vs. 40. The above mentioned verses are joined together although they are quoted from different passages of the Qur'ān.

3. Q. 39 vs. 68.

4. Q. 56 vs. 1.

5. Q. 69 vss. 1-2.

6. Q. 101 vss. 1-2.

7. Q. 77 vss. 13-14.

8. Q. 78 vs. 17.

9. Q. 78. vs. 18.

people will rise for the Lord of the universe".<sup>1</sup> He also said (T): "On the Day when a man will flee from his brother and his mother and his father".<sup>2</sup>

He who denies these verses is an unbeliever.

### Article 53

He must hold the Witr prayer to be three Rak'as and one Taslīma, and admit that and hold it to be correct.

Whoever says that the Witr is one Rak'a, and does not hold it to be three Rak'as, is a heretic. If he should hold three Rak'as to be correct, but should perform the Witr with (one) Rak'a, then the ritual prayer behind him is not valid, according to Abū Hanīfa.

Whoever says that the Witr is one Rak'a because God (T) is the Witr, and interprets the Witr as one Rak'a even as God is Witr because He is One, is an unbeliever. So say to him: "God is not One in reckoning, nor in number; even if the Witr (prayer) is one in reckoning [64<sup>b</sup>] and in number, and this is an unsound analogy."<sup>3</sup> Do you not see that God called you believer (mu'min) and called Himself Believer (Mu'min), so that you and He must be One? Do you realise, O erring one, what you are saying or not? Know also that this Witr (i.e. the Witr which is the subject of this Article) is your doing and your attribute, for God has created it: but the Witr which is the Name of God (T) and His attribute

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1. Q. 83 vss. 5-6.

2. Q. 80 vss. 34-35.

3. fahuwa is not needed.

is uncreated, so that the similarity of what is created with the attribute of God Who is uncreated is only credited by an unbeliever.

He said (T): "Nothing is like Him and He is the Hearing, the Seeing One".<sup>1</sup>

There are Traditions from the Prophet (SAAS) on this matter and from the Companions (RAA) and the Followers (tābi'īn).

Khārija b. Ḥudhayfa<sup>2</sup> said: "The Apostle of God went out for the Dawn prayer and said, 'O worshippers of God, God (T) has given you tonight a prayer, which is better for you than the high-bred of camels' We said, [65<sup>a</sup>] 'O Apostle of God, which prayer is that?' He said, "It is the Witr 'God has set the time for it (from) after the 'Ishā' until the rising of the dawn'".<sup>3</sup>

In another Tradition Jibrīl (AS) descended and said, "God (T) has increased the ritual prayer for you by three Rak'as. That is the Witr, the time for which is between the 'Ishā' and the rising of the dawn".<sup>4</sup>

In the Tradition of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq, he said that the Prophet (SAAS) performed the Witr with three Rak'as, but gave no Taslīma until after the last, then He said three times after that, "Glory be to the Holy King". He said it twice in a low voice, and raised his voice at the third time.

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1. Q. 42 vs. 11.

2. Khārija b. Ḥudhayfa d. 40/660. Shadh. 1/49.

3. Tr. 2/241.

4. cf. Dāwūd. 2/83.



From 'Abd-Allāh b. Mās'ūd (RAA) (there is a Tradition) from the Prophet (SAAS) that he used to perform the Witr with three Rak'as and one Taslīma, [65<sup>b</sup>] and used to recite the Qunūt before the Rukū' posture.

In another Tradition the Prophet (SAAS) said, "The Maghrib prayer is the Witr of day-time, and that after the 'Ishā' is the Witr of night-time".<sup>1</sup> It is three Rak'as because the Prophet (SAAS) likened it to the Maghrib prayer.

Abū Salama<sup>2</sup> said: "The Prophet (SAAS) used to perform the Witr with three Rak'as, but only gave the Taslīma after the last".

In another Tradition 'Ā'isha (RAA) was asked about the Prophet's (manner of performing) the prayer (SAAS), and she said: "He used to pray eleven Rak'as. He would pray four Rak'as, let us not ask about their beauty and length, then another four Rak'as, let us not ask about their beauty and length, then he would perform the Witr, three Rak'as and one Taslīma."

In another Tradition from 'Ā'isha (RAA) the Prophet (SAAS) used to perform the Witr [66<sup>a</sup>] with three Rak'as and one Taslīma, and he used to recite in the first, "Praise the Name of your Lord Most High",<sup>3</sup> and in the second, "Say, O unbelievers",<sup>4</sup> and in the third, Sūrat al-Ikhlās.<sup>5</sup>

1. Aḥm. 9/207.

2. Abū Salama Yaḥya b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī. d. 253/849.  
Tahdh. 11/289.

3. Q. 87 vs. 1.

4. Q. 109 vs. 1.

5. Q. 112.

From Muhammad b. Ka'b (it is related) that the Prophet (SAAS) forbade the Butayrā'; the Butayrā' is to perform (lit. one who performs) the Witr with one Rak'a.

From 'Ā'isha (it is related) that the Prophet (SAAS), when he performed the Witr, only made the Taslīma in the third.

Ibn 'Abbās (RAA) is reported to have said: "I was staying at the house of Maymūna, my maternal aunt, wife of the Prophet (SAAS), and when a quarter of the night had passed, the Prophet (SAAS) rose and performed the Witr, and only made the Taslīma in the third Rak'a".

Ibn 'Abbās (RAA) is also (reported to have) said: "The Prophet (SAAS) used to perform the Witr with three Rak'as, and used to recite in the first 'Praise the Name of your Lord Most High', and in the second, 'Say, O unbelievers', and in the third Surat al-Ikhlāṣ, [66<sup>b</sup>] and he only made the Taslīma in the last Rak'a".

(It is related) from Sa'īd b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Ibzī<sup>1</sup> that his father said: "The Prophet (SAAS) used to perform the Witr with three Rak'as, reciting in the first, 'Praise the Name of your Lord Most High', in the second 'Say, O unbelievers', and in the third, 'Say, He is God, One', and he only used to make the Taslīma in the third."

'Aṭā' (is) also (reported to have) said: "The Apostle of God (SAAS) used to pray every night thirteen

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1. Sa'īd b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Abzī al-Khuẓā'ī.

Tahdh. 4/54.

Rak'as, eight Rak'as voluntarily in two groups of four, then he used to perform the Witr with three Rak'as, then he used to perform the two Sunna Rak'as of the Fajr prayer".

The information from the Prophet (SAAS) is that he performed the Witr with one, three, five, seven, nine, eleven and thirteen [67<sup>a</sup>] Rak'as. But this was before the revelation of the Witr, and when Jibrīl (AS) came and informed him of the Witr he only prayed after that with three Rak'as. All the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) were in agreement about that except those of them who were absent.

Under this head there are many Traditions.

#### Article 54

He must regard the uncleanness of the Imām as uncleanness in respect of those who stand behind him (in prayer).<sup>1</sup>

There are Traditions concerning this, and we will mention some of them from the Sayyids of this Community, among whom are the Ten whom the Apostle of God mentioned, testifying that they would be in Paradise - Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, Az-Zubayr, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf,

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1. A Marginal Note: The meaning of "Ḥadath" here is the spoiling of the prayer itself, not of the Wuḍū'. The form of the article is:- If the Imām invalidates his prayer, and stays away from the Miḥrāb, and appoints no one as a substitute, and draws no-one's attention to it, and goes away as he is walking, the prayers of those who pray behind the Imām are all invalidated. This is the meaning of Ḥadath in the author's language.

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Sa'īd b. Zayd, Abū 'Ubayda 'Āmir b. al Jarrāh, and among others 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibn 'Abbās [67<sup>b</sup>] Jābir b. 'Abd-Allāh,<sup>1</sup> Zayd b. Thābit,<sup>2</sup> Abū Sa'īd al-Khidrī,<sup>3</sup> Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī,<sup>4</sup> 'Uqba b. 'Āmir,<sup>5</sup> 'Umrān b. Ḥuṣayn<sup>6</sup> 'Abd-Allāh b. Shaddād,<sup>7</sup> Abū-d-Dardā', Abū Dhar-al-Ghifārī,<sup>8</sup> 'Abd-Allāh b. Mas'ūd, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī,<sup>9</sup> Aswad b. Yazīd,<sup>10</sup> Ubbay b. Khalaf,<sup>11</sup> Ka'b b. Hudhāfa,<sup>12</sup>

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1. Jābir b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar al-Anṣārī d. 78/697. Shadh. 1/84.
  2. Zayd b. Thābit al-Anṣārī d. 45/665. Shadh. 1/54.
  3. Abū Sa'īd Sa'd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Khidrī d. 74/693. Shadh. 1/81.
  4. Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī 'Uqba b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba d. 40/660. Tahdh. 7/247-249.
  5. 'Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Juhanī d. 58/677. Shadh. 1/64.
  6. 'Umrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Khuzā'ī d. 52/672. Shadh. 1/58.
  7. 'Abd-Allāh b. Shaddād b. al-Hād al-Laythī d. 81/700. Shadh. 1/90.
  8. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī Jundub b. Janāda d. 32/652. Shadh. 1/39.
  9. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib d. 49/669. Shadh. 1/55-56.
  10. Abū 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-Kūfī d. 98/716. Shadh. 1/113.
  11. in Irā. p. 137. Ubbay b. Ka'b. Ubbay b. Ka'b b. Qays al-Khazrajī d. 22/642. Shadh. 1/32.
  12. in B.N. f. 43. Khārija b. Hudhafa d. 40/660. Shadh. 1/49.

Mu'ādh b. Jabal, Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān,<sup>1</sup> Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī,<sup>2</sup> Abū Imāma al-Bāhilī,<sup>3</sup> Wā'il b. Ḥajar,<sup>4</sup> Aṣ-Ṣiddīqa 'Ā'isha, Maymūna,<sup>5</sup> Ḥafṣa,<sup>6</sup> Fāṭima az-Zahrā',<sup>7</sup> 'Abd-Allāh b. Zayd,<sup>8</sup> Abū Bakr,<sup>9</sup> Ḥāritha,<sup>10</sup> al-Burā' b. 'Āzib,<sup>11</sup> Jābir b. Sumra,<sup>12</sup> Jarīr b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Anṣārī,<sup>13</sup> Sahl b. Sā'ida as-Sā'idi,<sup>14</sup>

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1. Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-'Absī d. 36/656. Shadh. 1/44.
  2. Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd al-Anṣārī d. 51/671. Shadh. 1/57.
  3. Abū Imāma al-Bāhilī aṣ-Ṣadī b. 'Ajlān d. 86/705. Shadh. 1/96.
  4. Wā'il b. Ḥajar b. Masrūq al-Ḥaḍramī. Tahdh. 11/108.
  5. Maymūna al-Hilāliyya d. 39/659 or 51/671. Shadh. 1/48.
  6. Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet and the daughter of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab. Shadh. 1/10.
  7. Fāṭima the daughter of the Prophet, d. 11/632. Shadh. 1/15.
  8. 'Abd-Allāh b. Zayd b. 'Āṣim al-Māzinī d. 63/682. Shadh. 1/71.
  9. ? Since Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq has been mentioned this man is more likely to be Abū Bakr b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī d. 94/712. Shadh. 1/104.
  10. Ḥāritha b. Surāqa al-Khazrajī d. 2/623. Shadh. 1/9.
  11. Abū 'Amāra al-Burā' b. 'Āzib al-Anṣārī d. 77/696. Shadh. 1/77.
  12. Jābir b. Sumra as-Siwā'ī d. 66/685. Shadh. 1/74.
  13. Jarīr b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Bājilī d. 54/673. Shadh. 1/57-58, Irā. p. 138.
  14. Sahl b. Sa'd as-Sā'idi al-Anṣārī d. 91/709. Shadh. 1/99.

‘Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit, ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Jubayr,<sup>1</sup> Na‘īm b. Sallām,<sup>2</sup> [68<sup>a</sup>] Uways b. Abī Uways,<sup>3</sup> ‘Abd-Allāh b. Abī Awfa,<sup>4</sup> Ibn Abī Najīḥ as-Salmī,<sup>5</sup> ‘Abd-Allāh b. Hudhāfa,<sup>6</sup> Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī,<sup>7</sup> ‘Ikrima,<sup>8</sup> Quthm b. ‘Abbās,<sup>9</sup> ‘Adī b. Hātim,<sup>10</sup> ‘Ayyāsh b. Rabī‘a,<sup>11</sup> ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa,<sup>12</sup> Shayba b. ‘Uthmān,<sup>13</sup> Abū Maḥdhūra al-Mu‘adhdhin,<sup>14</sup>

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1. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Jubayr al-Ḥaḍramī d. 118/736. Shadh. 1/156.
  2. ? He might be Na‘īm al-Aslamī. See Tahdh. 10/467.
  3. Uways b. Abī Uways ‘Adīd b. Tamīm. Tahdh. 1/385-386.
  4. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Abī Awfa al-Aslamī d. 86/705. Shadh. 1/96.
  5. Abū-Yassār ‘Abd-Allāh b. Abī Najīḥ al-Makkī d. 131/748. Shadh. 1/182.
  6. ? in B.N. f.43. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Khallād; in Irā. p. 139. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Jawād.
  7. Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘ari al-Yamānī d. 49/664. Shadh. 1/53.
  8. ‘Ikrima b. Abī Jahl d. 15/636. Shadh. 1/27-28.
  9. Quthm b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib d. 51/671. Shadh. 1/61.
  10. ‘Adī b. Hātim aṭ-Ṭā‘ī. d. 67/676. Shadh. 1/74.
  11. ‘Ayyāsh. b. Abī Rabī‘a al-Makhzūmī d. 15/636. Shadh. 1/28.
  12. ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abd-Allāh al-‘Abd-ad-Dār d. 42/662. Shadh. 1/53. Irā. p. 139.
  13. Shayba b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Abdary d. 59/678. Shadh. 1/65.
  14. Abū Maḥdhūra al-Jumāḥī al-Mu‘adhdhin. d. 59/678. Shadh. 1/65.

Ṣafwān b. Umaiyya b. Khalaf,<sup>1</sup> ‘Abd-Allāh b. as-Sā’ib  
 al-Makhzūmī,<sup>2</sup> ‘Uqba b. Ḥārith,<sup>3</sup> Khālīd b. al-‘Āṣ,<sup>4</sup>  
 Muṭī‘ al-Aswad,<sup>5</sup> ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Ṣafwān,<sup>6</sup> ‘Abd-Allāh  
 b. Ḥabashī,<sup>7</sup> Aswad b. Khalaf,<sup>8</sup> Kaysān,<sup>9</sup> Khabbāb b.  
 al-Arrat,<sup>10</sup> Ṣuhayb b. Sinān,<sup>11</sup> ‘Ammār b. Yāsir<sup>12</sup>  
 ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a,<sup>13</sup> Iyās b. Bakīr,<sup>14</sup> Zayd b. al-Arqam,<sup>15</sup>

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1. Ṣafwān b. Umaiyya b. Khalaf al-Qurashī d. 41/661.  
Shadh. 1/52.
  2. Abū-s-Sā’ib ‘Abd-Allāh b. as-Sā’ib al-Makhzūmī.  
Tahdh. 5/229.
  3. Abū Sarwa‘a ‘Uqba b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Āmir al-Makkī.  
Tahdh. 7/238.
  4. Khālīd b. Salama b. al-‘Āṣ al-Makhzūmī d. 132/749.  
Shadh. 1/189.
  5. Muṭī‘ b. al-Aswad b. Ḥāritha al-Qurashī one of the  
 Companions. Tahdh. 10/181.
  6. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Ṣafwān b. Qudāma al-Jumahī  
Tahdh. 6/199.
  7. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Ḥabashī al-Khath‘amī. Tahdh. 5/183.
  8. Al-Aswad b. Khalaf b. ‘Abd-Yaghūth al-Qurashī.  
Usd. 1/84.
  9. Kaysan b. Jarīr al-Umawī. Tahdh. 8/452.
  10. Khabbāb b. al-Arrat at-Tamīmī d. 37/657. Shadh.  
 1/47.
  11. Abū Yahya Ṣuhayb b. Sinān known as ar-Rūmī. d. 88/706.  
Tahdh. 4/438-439.
  12. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir the well known Companion d. 37/657.  
Shadh. 1/44-47.
  13. ‘Āmir b. Abī Rabī‘a d. 34/654. Shadh. 1/40.
  14. Iyās b. Bakīr b. ‘Abd-Yālayl al-Kindī d. 34/654.  
Usd. 1/153.
  15. Zayd b. al-Arqam al-Anṣārī d. 66/685. Shadh. 1/74.

Qudāma b. Maz‘ūn,<sup>1</sup> ‘Ukāsha b. Muḥṣin,<sup>2</sup> Sinān b.  
 Abī [68<sup>b</sup>] Sinān,<sup>3</sup> ‘Abd-Allāh b. Sahl,<sup>4</sup> Ṭufayl b. al-  
 Ḥārith,<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith,<sup>6</sup> Muḥammad b. Maslama,<sup>7</sup>  
 ‘Abbād b. Bashīr,<sup>8</sup> Qutāda b. Abī-n-Nu‘mān al-Anṣārī.<sup>9</sup>

All of these said:- "We are those who believe in reality; and faith neither increases nor decreases, and the uncleanness of the Imām is the uncleanness of him who prays behind him; and we wipe the shoes; we hold that the (formula of) inauguration (iqāma) is (said) twice; we do not recite when we are behind the Imām, and we do not raise our hands except in the first Takbīr of the ritual prayer; and the Witr is three Rak‘as as in the Maghrib prayer; and we do not make the Taslīma in the Witr except in the third (Rak‘a); the flowing of blood invalidates the Wuḍū’, because we found this to be the view-and-practice

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1. Qudāma b. Mūsā b. Maz‘ūn al-Jumahī d. 153/770.  
Tahdh. 8/365.
  2. ‘Ukāsha b. Muḥṣin b. Ḥarthān al-Asdī d. 11/632.  
Shadh. 1/15. Irā. p. 141.
  3. Sinān b. Abī Sinān b. Yazīd b. Abī Umaiyya d. 105/723.  
Tahdh. 4/242.
  4. Abū Laylā ‘Abd-Allāh b. Sahl al-Anṣārī Tahdh. 5/247.
  5. Aṭ-Ṭufayl b. ‘Abd-Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Sakhbara al-Azdī. Tahdh. 5/14.
  6. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥārithī. Tahdh. 9/104.
  7. Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī d. 43/663. Shadh. 1/53.
  8. ‘Abbād b. Bashīr, one of the Prophet's Companions.  
 d. 20/640. Shadh. 1/31.
  9. Qutāda b. an-Nu‘mān al-Anṣārī. d. 23/643.  
Shadh. 1/34.



of the Prophet (SAAS).

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said: "I saw three hundred of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), of whom seventy had been present at Badr, all relating [69<sup>a</sup>] concerning the Prophet (SAAS) that he said: "Keep your tongues off anyone who says, 'There is no god but God', and call no one an unbeliever on account of a sin". They all told me concerning the Prophet (SAAS) that he said: "The decreeing of good and evil is from God (T), and that he said: "I was commanded to wage war on people until they say, 'There is no god but God', and when they say that their blood is safe from me, and their wealth, except what they owe and the proportion due to God (A & J)." <sup>1</sup> They all told me concerning him (SAAS) that he said: "Faith is confession with the tongue and Knowledge in the heart, but action is part of the divine law of faith, not faith itself." <sup>2</sup> They all told me that he said: "Pray for any of the people of the Qibla who die, and pray behind every (Imām) righteous or unjust". <sup>3</sup> They all told me that the Prophet (SAAS) said: "Do not take up the sword against any of the people of the Qibla; do not rebel against the Amīrs; [69<sup>b</sup>] and do not doubt your faith, for whoever doubts his faith is an unbeliever". <sup>4</sup>

Among the Followers (of the Companions) and the

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1. Kanz. 1/77.

2. cf. Kanz. 1/19.

3. Dāwūd. 3/27.

4. cf. Kanz. 1/30; 5/472.

righteous, Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qarẓī,<sup>1</sup> 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ,<sup>2</sup> 'Awn b. 'Abd-Allāh,<sup>3</sup> Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq,<sup>4</sup> 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz,<sup>5</sup> Maymūn b. Muhrān,<sup>6</sup> Mujāhid,<sup>7</sup> Ṭāwūs,<sup>8</sup> 'Abd-al-'Azīz, b. Abī Mu'adh,<sup>9</sup> Shurayḥ,<sup>10</sup> Ash-Shu'bī,<sup>11</sup> Rabī' b. Khathīm,<sup>12</sup> Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Wahb b. Munabbih, Muḥammad b. Wāsi',<sup>13</sup> Mālik b. Dīnār,<sup>14</sup> Thābit al-Banānī, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn,<sup>15</sup>

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1. Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qarẓī al-Kūfī. d. 108/726. Shadh. 1/136.
  2. Abū Muḥammad 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ. d. 114/732. Shadh. 1/147-148.
  3. 'Awn b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd. d. 110/728. Shadh. 1/140.
  4. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn aṣ-Ṣādiq. d. 148/765. Tahdh. 2/103-105.
  5. Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Amawī. d. 101/719. Shadh. 1/119-121.
  6. Abū Ayyūb Maymūn b. Muhrān ar-Raqqī. d. 117/735. Shadh. 1/154.
  7. Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī d. 103/721. Shadh. 1/125.
  8. Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān al-Yamānī d. 106/724. Shadh. 1/133.
  9. ? Not in Dār. cf. p. 46. Nor in Irā. cf. p. 144.  
But in B.N. f. 43<sup>b</sup> 'Abd-al-'Azīz b. Abī Dāwūd.
  10. Abū-Umayya Shurayḥ b. Ḥārith al-Kindī d. 78/697. Shadh. 1/85-86.
  11. 'Āmir b. Shurāḥīl ash-Shu'bī al-Kūfī d. 109/727. Tahdh. 5/65-69.
  12. Ar-Rabī' b. Khathīm b. 'Ā'idh al-Kūfī d. 63/682. Tahdh. 3/242.
  13. Muḥammad b. Wāsi' al-Āzidī d. 123/740. Shadh. 1/161.
  14. Abū Yahya Mālik b. Dīnār al-Baṣrī d. 127/744. Shadh. 1/173.
  15. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sīrīn d. 110/728. Shadh. 1/138.

Muḥammad b. Munkadir,<sup>1</sup> Ayyūb as-Sakhtayānī al-Misnānī,<sup>2</sup> ‘Alqama, Zadhān,<sup>3</sup> Ibrāhīm an-Nakh‘ī, Hammād, Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān ath-Thawrī, Abū Yūsuf al-Qādī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>4</sup> Zufar,<sup>5</sup> al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād,<sup>6</sup> Wakī‘,<sup>7</sup> ‘Abd-Allāh b. [70<sup>a</sup>] al-Mubarak,<sup>8</sup> and Seven hundred of the followers, all said: "We are those who truly believe; we do not recite (when) behind the Imām; we perform the Witr prayer with three Rak‘as and one Taslīma; the formula of inauguration (iqāma) is (said) twice; the uncleanness of the Imām is the uncleanness of him who prays behind him; faith neither increases nor decreases; we pray behind any Imām, righteous or unjust; nor do we call anyone of the people of the Qibla an unbeliever because of a sin; we wipe the shoes; we do not perform the Wuḍū’ in scant and stagnant water; we found this to be the view-and-practice of the

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1. Abū ‘Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir at-Taymī d. 30/650. Shadh. 1/177-178.
  2. Ayyūb. b. Abī Tamīm as-Sakhtayānī d. 131/748. Shadh. 1/181.
  3. Abū ‘Umar Zādhān the client of Kinda d. 82/701. Shadh. 1/90.
  4. Abū ‘Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī, a student of Abū Ḥanīfa. Fawd. p. 163.
  5. Zufar b. al-Hudhayl al-Baṣrī d. 158/774. Fawd. p. 75.
  6. Al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Lu’lu’ī al-Kūfī d. 204/819. Fawd. pp. 60-61.
  7. Abū Sufiyān Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Kūfī d. 198/813. Fawd. pp. 222-223.
  8. Abū ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ‘Abd-Allāh b. al-Mubārak al-Marwazī d. 181/797. Fawd. pp. 103-104.

Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), and of the four rightly guided Khalīfas, and of those who correctly practice the religion".

Abū Muḥammad said: "Abū-l-Qāsim and certain of the righteous Faqīhs, among whom are Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ,<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad b. Muqātil, 'Iṣām b. Yūsuf,<sup>2</sup> Shaddād b. Ḥakīm,<sup>3</sup> Abū-l-Layth, Abū Ḥafṣ,<sup>4</sup> Abū 'Abd-Allāh b. Aslam<sup>5</sup> Khalaf b. Ayyūb,[70<sup>b</sup>] Jarūd b. Mu'ādh,<sup>6</sup> 'Alī b. Is'hāq,<sup>7</sup> Abū 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Abī-l-Layth,<sup>8</sup> Abū Ya'qūb al-Abbār,<sup>9</sup> Abū 'Umar ad-Darir,<sup>10</sup> Abū Sufyān al-Jurjānī<sup>11</sup> Abū-Bakr al-Jurjānī,<sup>12</sup> Abū-l-Qāsim aṣ-Ṣaffār,<sup>13</sup> (Abū) Aḥmad al-'Iyāḍī,

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1. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr al-Bukhārī Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ. Fawd. pp. 18-19.
  2. Abū 'Uṣma al-Balkhī 'Iṣām b. Yūsuf b. Maymūn d. 210/825. Fawd. p. 116.
  3. Shaddād b. Ḥakīm al-Balkhīd. d. 220/835. Fawd. p. 83.
  4. Abū Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaghīr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī. Fawd. p. 19.
  5. Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Aslam al-Āzidī d. 268/881. Jar. 2/33.
  6. Al-Jārūd b. Mu'ādh as-Salmī Abū Dāwūd d. 244/858. Tahdh. 2/53.
  7. Abū-l-Hasan as-Samarqandī Alī b. Is'hāq b. Ibrāhīm. d. 237/851. Tahdh. 7/283.
  8. He is not mentioned in Dār. cf. p. 47.
  9. He is not mentioned in Dār. cf. p. 47.
  10. Abū 'Umar Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar ad-Darīr d. 220/835. Tahdh. 2/411.
  11. ? in Irā. p. 147. Abū Sulaymān al-Juzajānī Mūsā b. Sulaymān died after 200/815. Fawd. p. 216.
  12. in Dār. p. 47. Abū Bakr al-Juzajānī Aḥmad b. Is'hāq the teacher of al-Māturīdī.
  13. Abū-l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥam aṣ-Ṣaffār d. 336/947. Jar. 2/263.

Abū Bakr b. Ismā‘īl,<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm aḍ-Ḍarīr,<sup>2</sup> Abū-l-Ḥasan ar-Raffāq,<sup>3</sup> and four hundred of the religious leaders of Khurāsān and al-‘Irāq were of the view-and-practice we have mentioned, and all of these said, 'We found the leaders of religious practice, and the Sayyids, ascetics and devout among these leaders of this view-and-practice'. Among them were Ṣāliḥ al-Marri,<sup>4</sup> Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī,<sup>5</sup> al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyāḍ,<sup>6</sup> Abū Bakr al-Warrāq,<sup>7</sup> Aḥmad b. Khudrawayh,<sup>8</sup> Abū Bakr al-Wāṣiṭī,<sup>9</sup> Abū Yazīd al-Baṣṭāmī,<sup>10</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham,<sup>11</sup> Ḥātim al-Aṣamm,<sup>12</sup> Aslam,<sup>13</sup> Ḥāmid

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1. Abū Bakr b. Ismā‘īl known as al-Ismā‘īlī. Jar. 2/239-240.
  2. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbās. cf. Irā. p. 148.
  3. ? in Irā. p.148. An-Naqqad, in B.N. f.45<sup>a</sup>. al-Wafā. This name does not exist in Dār.cf. p.47.
  4. Ṣāliḥ b. Bishr al-Marri d. 172/788. Shadh. 1/281.
  5. Dhū-n-Nūn Thawbān b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī. Bagh. 8/393.
  6. Abū ‘Alī al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyāḍ at-Tamīmī d. 187/803. Jar. 1/409-410.
  7. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī d. 280/893. Sulm. p. 216.
  8. Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad b. Khudrawayh al-Balkhī d. 240/854. Bagh. 4/137.
  9. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāṣiṭī d. after 320/932. Tadhk. 2/208.
  10. Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr b. ‘Isā al-Baṣṭāmī d. 261/874. Mīzān. 1/481.
  11. Abū Is’hāq Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham al-Balkhī d. 161/777. Bagh. 1/47.
  12. Abū ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ḥātim b. ‘Unwān b. Yūsuf al-Aṣamm. Bagh. 8/241.
  13. ? cf. Irā. p. 120. Aslam az-Zāhid.

al-Laffāf,<sup>1</sup> Shaqīq b. ‘Abd-Allāh,<sup>2</sup> [71<sup>a</sup>] Mu‘ādh b. at-Tasabu‘ī,<sup>3</sup> Ibrāhīm as-Samarqandī,<sup>4</sup> Abū ‘Imrān,<sup>5</sup> Abū Zakariyya,<sup>6</sup> Abū ‘Ashrī,<sup>7</sup> Ḥusayn al-Wāṣiṭī,<sup>8</sup> ‘Abd-Allāh al-Anṭākī,<sup>9</sup> ‘Utba al-Ghulām,<sup>10</sup> Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-‘Atkī,<sup>11</sup> Abū ‘Itāb,<sup>12</sup> Abū-t-Turāb,<sup>13</sup> Abū Bakr al-Mulabbidī,<sup>14</sup> Ḥāmid al-Bukhārī,<sup>15</sup> Ṣāliḥ b. Yassār,<sup>16</sup> ‘Umrak al-Mahhād,<sup>17</sup>

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1. Abū ‘Alī Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad b. Ḥarb an-Nīshabūrī d. 266/879. Sulm. p. 82.
  2. Abū ‘Alī Shaqīq b. Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī d. 194/809. Shadh. 1/341.
  3. ? In Irā. p. 151. Mu‘ādh an-Nasafī.
  4. Abū Is’ḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn b. Hārūn as-Samarqandī d. 390/999. Jar. 1/37.
  5. Abū ‘Imrān al-Kabīr. Sulm. p. 287. in Dār. p. 47. ‘Imrān b. Abī Bakr in B.N. f.45<sup>a</sup>. ‘Imrān b. ‘Imrān.
  6. In B.N. Abū Zakariyya al-Warāqishtī. See B.N. f. 45<sup>a</sup>.
  7. This name does not exist in the other three copies. See B.N. f. 45; Irā. p. 151; Dār. p. 47.
  8. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd al-Wāṣiṭī. Sulm. p. 552.
  9. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd-Allāh b. Khabīq b. Sābiq al-Anṭākī d. 250/846. Sulm. p. 131.
  10. ‘Utba b. Abbān al-Baṣrī known as al-Ghulām d. 468/1075. Lubāb. 2/183.
  11. He is not mentioned in Dār. See Dār. p. 47.
  12. In Irā. Abū-‘Atiyān az-Zāhid. See Irā. p. 151.
  13. In Dār. p. 47. Abū Turāb an-Nakhshabī. ‘Askar b. al-Ḥusayn d. 245/859. Shadh. 2/108.
  14. In Irā. Abū Bakr al-Malīla. cf. Irā. p. 151.
  15. In Irā. Ḥassād al-Bukhārī. See Irā. p. 152.
  16. He is not mentioned in Dār. and in Irā. Ṣāliḥ al-Aswad. cf. Dār. p. 47; Irā. p. 151.
  17. In B.N. ‘Umayrak al-Mahhād. See B.N. f. 45<sup>a</sup>.

Aḥmad b. Nūḥ,<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Mukhbīr,<sup>2</sup> Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm,<sup>3</sup> Yūsuf al-‘Awfī,<sup>4</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bazzāz,<sup>5</sup> Abū-l-Qāsim al-Ḥakīm, and others like them among the ascetics. All of these said: 'We are those who truly believe, and we perform the Witr prayer with three Rak‘as and one Taslīma; we do not doubt our religion; faith neither increases nor decreases; the (formula of) inauguration is (said) twice; we do not recite (when) behind the Imām, nor do we raise our hands except at the takbīrat al-Iḥrām<sup>6</sup>; we call no one an unbeliever among the people of this Qibla on account of sinning; we pray behind any (Imām, be he) righteous or unjust; we only talk good of the people [71<sup>b</sup>] of the Qibla;

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1. In Irā. Aḥmad b. Baram. See Irā. p. 152.

2. He is not mentioned in Dār. See Dār. p. 47.

3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Aṣamm. Lubāb. 2/270.

4. In B.N. Yūsuf aṣ-Ṣūfī but in Irā. he is mentioned as Yūsuf al-‘Irāqī but in Dār. he is not mentioned at all. Yūsuf aṣ-Ṣūfī is Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī aṣ-Ṣūfī d. 304/916. See Shadh. 2/245; B.N. f.45. Irā. p. 152.

5. He is not mentioned in Dār. See Dār. p. 47.

6. Reading takbīra instead of taḥrīma. Takbīrat at-Taḥrīm is the opening words which indicate the commencement of prayer in Islam; Taḥrīm (i.e. the prohibitory adoration) forbids to the worshipper what was previously allowable. See W.M. Watt. The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī. Lahore, 1953, p. 61.

we fear God (T), and hope for (power) from Him to return in humble repentance; because the rightly-guided leaders of this view-and-practice in Khurāsān and al-‘Irāq, as well as those whose view is accepted in this matter'".

So if these Sayyids and leaders are thus, can anyone except a misguided heretic run counter to them. Help is in God.

#### Article 55

He must regard the wiping of his shoes, and the washing of his feet after removing the shoes as correct.

He who does not hold to the wiping of the shoes is a Rāfiḍite, while he who does not hold to the washing after removal of the shoes is a heretic also, because he prays without Wuḍū'. So perform it (i.e. the wiping of the shoes).

#### Article 56

He must not consider performing the Wuḍū' with a small amount of stagnant water.

Because of the Traditions we have related hereinbefore, and because a small amount of water will probably contain impurity, if it is stagnant, [72<sup>a</sup>] unless it is a large pool of rain water, which means that it should be ten feet by ten, and its depth unascertainable by immersion in it (lit., such that the earth is not revealed by immersion in it), otherwise it will probably contain defilement.<sup>1</sup>

This is sufficient.

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1. In B.M. the idea is confused and all the four copies differ from one another; see B.N. ff. 45<sup>b</sup>-46<sup>a</sup>, Dār. p. 48, Irā. p. 154.



Article 57

He must know that if blood, matter, or pus, flows from the body and reaches any part which is included in the rule of ritual purification, it invalidates the Wuḍū' (ablution)

Know that the general rule under this heading is that whatever is inside the human body, and then comes out to its outside surface, invalidates the Wuḍū', if it is unclean; but whatever is clean and then enters inside, spoils the fast, unless one is unaware. Whoever does not believe that the Wuḍū' is invalidated when these things come out from the body, or when he vomits as much as his mouth will hold, intentionally or unintentionally, is a heretic behind whom prayer is unlawful for lack of ritual purity.

Article 58

[72<sup>b</sup>] He must know that faith neither increases nor decreases, and hold that as true, because increase and decrease in faith is unbelief.

Increase and decrease are only in works, not in faith, because increase and decrease only apply to something created. So if you say faith increases and decreases, you openly assert that it is created; otherwise show me an uncreated thing which increases and decreases!

(In answer to) those who argue for it from His saying (T): "That they may increase in faith over and above their faith",<sup>1</sup> the commentators whose interpretation is sound, such as 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās and 'Alī and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī

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1. Q. 48 vs. 4.

and Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq, say that faith here means certainty (yaqīn), and some of them say intellectual assent (taṣdīq), and others say perseverance (baqā'). But none of them, or any other of the learned and upright [73<sup>a</sup>] say that faith increases and decreases.

For the Qur'ān has an outward (literal) and an inward meaning. One ought not to interpret everything in the Qur'ān in its outward aspect, but one should look to what it really means. For many of the verses have a meaning outwardly; but inwardly their meaning is different. So let a man fear God and not interpret the Qur'ān by his (own) opinion.

Ibn-'Abbās said that the Prophet (SAAS) said: "Whoever interprets the Qur'ān by his (own) opinion is an unbeliever". The soundness of our view that the Qur'ān has an outward (literal) and an inward meaning is (based) upon His saying (T): "'And make us both surrenderers (of ourselves) (muslimayn) to Yourself'".<sup>1</sup> If you interpret that according to its outward (literal) meaning, beware what you say! It means: "Confirm us in Islam".

God (T) said: "And that if they had walked uprightly (straight) upon the way We would have watered them with water in showers".<sup>2</sup> It means, "I would have given them much water".

He also said (T): [73<sup>b</sup>] "Truly you are the mild and guided one".<sup>3</sup> He means: "Truly you are ignorant and weak-minded".

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1. Q. 2 vs. 128.

2. Q. 72 vs. 16.

3. Q. 11 vs. 87.

He also said (T): "'O magician, pray to your Lord for us'".<sup>1</sup> He means: "O learned one".

He also said (T): "And an atonement (is imposed) upon those who can bear it".<sup>2</sup> He means, "An atonement is imposed upon those who cannot bear it".

He also said (T): "God makes clear to you that (lest) you should go astray".<sup>3</sup> That is, "that you should not go astray".

In the Qur'ān there are many (examples) such as this, but we have been brief. So it is your duty not to interpret the Qur'ān by your opinion. So do not reckon every round thing to be a walnut, and understand, you careless one, so that you do not corrupt your religion.

So if that opponent (mukhālif) says: "Has not Tradition come down concerning the Prophet (SAAS), that he said: "He in whose heart is faith the weight of an atom will come out of Hell-fire?"<sup>4</sup> If there is an amount of faith weighing an atom, we know that faith increases and decreases", then say to him: "Is there anything of faith weightier than to say, There is no god but God?". If he says, "No", then the answer is that to say, There is no god but God, is heavier than the weight of [74<sup>a</sup>] an atom.

It is related of the Prophet (SAAS) that he said: "If the seven heavens and the seven earths were put in one pan

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1. Q. 43. vs. 49.

2. Q. 2 vs. 184.

3. Q. 4 vs. 176.

4. Kanz. 1/63.

of the scales and the statement, There is no god but God, in the other, the latter would be heavier than all the former."<sup>1</sup>

Another report is that God (T) brings out from Hell-fire by the intercession of the Prophet (SAAS) whoever says, There is no god but God: Muhammad is the Apostle of God.

Do you not see that God will forgive them on (condition of) faith whether imperfect or perfect, although they have not done a good work, and if faith were both words and works they would not come out from Hell-fire if they had no works.

It was reported from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA) concerning the Prophet (SAAS) that he said: "He who says, 'I am a believer, if God wills' has rebelled against God's command, and he who says faith increases and decreases has no part in Islam, and he who says faith is created [74<sup>b</sup>] is a disbeliever in God".

Mūsā b. Abī-Kathīr is reported to have said: "We went out in a group to 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz to ask him whether faith increases and decreases, and 'Umar said, 'If faith were to increase and decrease, there would have come upon man many sins and faith would have escaped him entirely; So the wise man ought to prepare his mind (get his mind clear) on this subject; for he whom faith forsakes is an unbeliever in God, because faith is light

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1. cf. Kanz. 1/56.

and unbelief is darkness. So when the light decreases in a man he enters proportionately into darkness, and as the one increases, the other decreases to the same degree. But it is an impossibility that there should be with a man both unbelief and faith'".

Abū-Hurayra is reported to have said: "Some people came to the Apostle of God (SAAS) and asked him about the increase and decrease of faith, and he said: 'The decrease of faith is unbelief: faith neither increases nor decreases'".<sup>1</sup>  
[75<sup>a</sup>]

‘Awn b. ‘Abd-‘Allāh is reported to have said: "I heard that ‘Umar b. ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz said on the pulpit: 'By God, if it were according to the view of the people of vain desires and as they describe it, then everyone who committed a sin would decrease his faith, and everyone who did well would increase in faith; and he who goes out from here would not know how much his faith had increased or decreased by the time he reached his house. This is error and heresy, because the Prophet (SAAS) said: "Read the Qur’ān and call yourselves believers. By Him in Whose hand is Muḥammad's soul, truly just as the unbeliever's work does not benefit him so as to exclude him from unbelief, so the believer's sin does not exclude him from faith, until he disbelieves in God (T)'".<sup>2</sup>

If such a heretic as this argues by (quoting) His saying

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1. cf. Kanz. 1/57.

2. cf. Kanz. 1/74.

(T): "Today I have perfected your religion for you, and completed My grace upon you"<sup>1</sup> [75<sup>b</sup>] (and says), "We know that faith increases and decreases since He said: 'I have completed upon you....'; for there is no completion without incompleteness", then say: "faith is religion, but not every religion is faith, just as unbelief is transgression, but not every transgression unbelief, and just as prayer is obedience, but not every (act of) obedience is prayer. In the same way faith is obedience, but not every (act of) obedience faith". If he argues from His saying (T): "Being whole-hearted to Him in religion - Ḥanīfs",<sup>2</sup> then say: "Religion in the Qur'ān has various aspects; so you should not interpret the Qur'ān by your opinion, as the Khārijites interpreted it until they disbelieved in God (T). But one of the aspects of religion in the Book is His saying (T): "He has revealed the religion to you" (That is - "He has made it clear for you").....to His saying (T): "and do not be divided about it".<sup>3</sup> He means "belief in God's oneness" (tawḥīd). But by His saying (T): "There is no compulsion in religion"<sup>4</sup> He means faith. This is what [76<sup>a</sup>] neither increases nor decreases; for that (would be) unbelief; it is not possible to differ or be divided about it." God (T) said: "Do not be divided about it".<sup>5</sup>

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1. Q. 5 vs. 3.

2. Q. 98 vs. 5.

3. Q. 42 vs. 13.

4. Q. 2 vs. 256.

5. Q. 42 vs. 13.

So as for the religion which allows differences, and increases and decreases, He said (T): "Whole-hearted to Him in religion - Ḥanīfs";<sup>1</sup> while as for His saying (T): "Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed My grace upon you",<sup>2</sup> He means by it the compulsory religious duties and the legal principles (aḥkām) of Islam.

Not all religion (dīn) is faith. He said (T): "It was not that he might take his brother into the King's dīn",<sup>3</sup> meaning 'into the King's jurisdiction'. He also said (T): "Possessor of the Day of dīn",<sup>4</sup> meaning the Day of Judgement and Reckoning. He also said (T): "You have your religion and I have my religion".<sup>5</sup> God calls unbelief a religion (viz. You have unbelief as a religion); that is, "You have unbelief and I have Islām". So know that your dependence on the verses (of the Qur'ān) is nothing.

He also said (T): "We have made for everyone a revealed law (shir'a) and a religious practice (minhāj)".<sup>6</sup> Thus He has shown that the revealed laws of the prophets were various, [76<sup>b</sup>] but they were the same in faith, not differing from one another. So by this is proved that faith does not increase nor decrease; but the revealed laws increase and decrease, because they are actions (a'māl)".

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1. Q. 98 vs. 5.

2. Q. 5 vs. 3.

3. Q. 12 vs. 76.

4. Q. 1 vs. 3.

5. Q. 109 vs. 6.

6. Q. 5 vs. 48.

It might be asked also: "If faith increases and decreases with transgression, and Adam transgressed against his Lord, did his faith therefore grow less?" If he replies: "Yes", he has disbelieved God. "And since slips have appeared on the part of Muḥammad (SAAS) and of the prophets (AS), has their faith grown less?" If he replies: "Yes", he has disbelieved God and His apostles.

It might be asked: "On the Night of the Ascension, when God laid the obligation on the Prophet and his Community of performing fifty prayers night and day, and of fasting six months in every year, and Mūsā (AS) dissuaded him from bearing and accepting it, and he asked his Lord that the burden be lightened for his Community, with the result that He replaced the fifty by five, and the six months by the month of Ramaḍān - now if you say (viz. in regard to the foregoing): "Faith is "saying" and "acting", and this (i.e. the foregoing) is "acting", and the Prophet asked<sup>1</sup> and persevered (in asking) to have the performance decreased [77<sup>a</sup>]. This would lead to the conclusion that both he (AS) and Mūsā (AS) persevered in decreasing faith", then that is falsehood and blasphemy.

Know and understand.

#### Article 59

He must know that Iblīs (LA) was a believer in God's view, a believer in the Preserved Tablet, a believer in the

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1. Reading sa'al instead of sa'altu.



angels' view; but Abū Bakr and 'Umar, when they used to worship the images, were unbelievers in God's view, and in the angels' view, and in the Preserved Tablet.

He who says anything other than this is a heretic Jabrī.

The Tradition transmitted from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn 'Abbās (RAA) is that he said: "Wariness is no escape from the decree (of God), but prayer is a defence against the Pen".<sup>1</sup>

Know that Iblīs was a believer, since he used to worship God; for he who believes in God is really a believer, and he who worships images is really an unbeliever. The evidence for this is that God (T) commanded His Prophet to fight the polytheists until they say, [77<sup>b</sup>] There is no god but God. If they had been believers at the time when they were worshipping idols, He would not have commanded him to fight them, and the introduction of Islām to them would have been of no advantage. If some of them had been believers and others unbelievers, God would have made that clear, and forbidden him to fight those of them who were believers, and would have commanded him to fight (only) those who were unbelievers.

So say to him:<sup>2</sup> "If the believer has been a believer from eternity, his state does not alter; so beware what you say! It leads to the nullification of the command of God (T) to His Prophet to fight the polytheists, and the

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1. Kanz. 1/118.

2. Reading wa qul lahu instead of wa qulta lahu.

introduction of Islām to them. For if the believer is a believer from eternity, he does not change from his state, nor does anyone change him from it; and yet the Pen has recorded his unbelief in the Preserved Tablet. Then beware of what it is you are saying! For if it is as you say, that everything that exists has become what it is, and will be nothing else, then what is the use of the command of God to him to fight until they (lit. he) say, There is no god but God? And what is the use [78<sup>a</sup>] of the introduction of Islām, if the unbeliever is an unbeliever in the Tablet, and so will never become a Muslim, as you say? Thus to make war on him is absurd."

This is the doctrine of 'Ulūj, because they regard unbelievers, and people who commit grave sins as excused in God's sight; and that is unbelief.

Say also to this Jabrī: "Was Adam (AS) a transgressor before he ate of the tree, or was he obedient?" If he says: "He created him obedient", then say: "How, according to your view, did he transgress?" If he says: "He created him a transgressor", then say: "He does not obey in that case, according to your view, and His saying (T): "And Adam transgressed against his Lord, and was deceived"<sup>1</sup> will have no meaning".

[Say also to him:] "When God (T) commands the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, was Iblīs at that time an angel or an unbeliever? If he had been an unbeliever, He would not have commanded him to prostrate himself, because

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1. Q. 20 vs. 121.

He only commanded the angels to prostrate themselves, not the unbelievers: so according to what you say, Iblīs would be excused in not prostrating himself to Adam. God (T) said: "And (recall) when We said [78<sup>b</sup>] to the angels, 'Prostrate yourselves to Adam'..... and was one of the unbelievers",<sup>1</sup> i.e. and became an unbeliever. If he had been an unbeliever before the command, He would not have commanded him to prostrate himself, nor would he have been at that time an angel, because an unbeliever has no business with the angels."

Know therefore for certain that when Iblīs was worshipping God (T), his name was written in the Tablet as a believer; then when he refused the command of God (T), and contravened it and disbelieved in God, his name as a believer was erased and he was written as an unbeliever. Adam also (AS) was written as obedient; then when he ate of the tree, and disobeyed his Lord, his name was erased from among the obedient, and he was written as a transgressor; then when God had mercy on him, and repented concerning him, his name came to be written as an obedient one. (It was the same with) Hārūt and Mārūt. Qābīl the son of Adam as well, his name was written in the Tablet as a believer; then when he slew his brother Hābīl, and was not satisfied [79<sup>a</sup>] with God's judgment, his name was erased from (the list of) faith, and he was written as an unbeliever. As long as the magicians of Fir'awn (Pharaoh) practised their sorcery they were written as unbelievers; then when they believed, they were

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1. Q. 2 vs. 34.

written among the believers. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar also used to worship images: they were written as unbelievers. But when they believed, they were written as believers.

Bal‘am b. Bā‘ūr (Balaam, son of Beor) and Qārūn were also of this type, and God is able to do that. He has done what He would, and He will do what He wills. "God erases and confirms what He wills, and with Him is the source (umm) of the book".<sup>1</sup> He makes the wretched happy, and makes the happy wretched, and makes the believer become an unbeliever, and the unbeliever a believer; for He said (T): "God erases what He wills, and with Him is the source of the book".<sup>2</sup>

The Prophet (AS) said: "Man (i.e. one man) is born a believer and lives believing, but dies an unbeliever, and (another) is born an unbeliever and lives an unbeliever, but dies a believer."<sup>3</sup>

There are many Traditions [79<sup>b</sup>] on this subject, but we have been brief for simplicity's sake.

## Article 60

He must confess that the command of God (T) in this world does not cease to be an obligation upon the man who loves Him because of his love.

He who claims to love God (T) must prove his claim on four counts - first, that he should not fall short in

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1. Q. 13 vs. 39.
  2. Q. 13 vs. 39.
  3. Kanz. 1/111.

fulfilling his Lord's command; second, that he should not intend what God has forbidden; third, that he should be satisfied with every judgment of God; fourth, that he should give thanks for all the blessings of God (T).

He who (says): "I love God (T), and if Love for God is present nothing will hurt me,<sup>1</sup> since the loving one (is) with the beloved (and) will not consider (as serious the latter's) leaving prayer and committing transgressions" - he who credits this is a heretic (zindīq) and an unbeliever, because the love of a man towards God (T) appears in following the practice of His Apostle, and he who leaves the Congregation of the Muslims, and throws over the command of God, and neglects the practice of His Apostle is an evil doer (fāsiq) [80<sup>a</sup>] who is not fit to love God. For He said (T): "Say, if you love God, then follow me, and God will love you and forgive you".<sup>2</sup> So to follow the practice of the Apostle (AS) is the sign of the love of God, because he who claims to love a loved one, is obliged to do the deeds of the beloved, and to obey the commands of his beloved, so that his actions agree with his words.

God (T) said: "To Him ascends good (acceptable) talk, and good actions He exalts them".<sup>3</sup> If any had been exempted from God's command, it would have been Ibrāhīm the Friend (AS), because God (T) selected him as a friend, and when he prayed the beating of his heart for loving fear

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1. Reading yadurrunī instead of yaruddunī.

2. Q. 3 vs. 31.

3. Q. 35 vs. 10.

of God (T) could be heard mile after mile. And if anyone had been exempted from God's command, Muḥammad (SAAS) would have been exempted, because he loved Him, and when he prayed, there was heard in his breast a hissing sound like the hissing of a cauldron, and [80<sup>b</sup>] God made him safe from fear of Him by saying (T): "That God may pardon you your sins of former time and those which come after";<sup>1</sup> but in spite of that he worshipped God (T) and did not rise until his feet began to swell.

But since the command of God (T) has not been removed (even) from His beloved, and the most respected (sāda) of the human race, it is conceded that that is not possible for anyone. But God knows best.

#### Article 61

He must fear God (T) for the sake of the end (khātima), and consider that as a reality; for one does not know whether one will die as a Muslim or as an unbeliever like the diligent worshippers who have gone before. For they went out of the world without Islām, and met God without faith. Fear of the end is an (obligatory) duty for all Muslims.

He said (T): "No one feels safe from the guile of God except those who are losers".<sup>2</sup> Fear of God is a duty; so: "Let a soul see what it sends forward for the morrow, and fear God, etc."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Q. 48 vs. 2.

2. Q. 7 vs. 99.

3. Q. 59 vs. 18.

God said, and the Prophet reported it: [81<sup>a</sup>] "I will not gather upon my worshipper two fears nor two securities. So if he fears Me in this world, I will make him secure in the next: but if he feels safe from Me in this world, I will cause him to fear Me in the next".

Abū Ḥanīfa said: "The thing which a man is most robbed of in his death throes is faith; thus he who does not fear the end and thinks himself secure is in error. That is the doctrine of the Mujbira and the Murji'a.

#### Article 62

He must not despair of the mercy of God, even though he may have committed many grave sins.

He who despairs of God's mercy is an unbeliever, and is called a Ḥarūrī.

Know that even though one commits the sins of all the world, to despair because of it of the mercy of God is unbelief. Even if a believer commits adultery with 1,000 believing women, and goes off with the wealth of 1,000 Muslims, and slays 100,000 believers, and never prays to God (T) at all, and does not fast a day, nor perform the pilgrimage, nor wash himself clean of ritual impurity, nor pay the tithe, he is yet truly a believer. If he repents [81<sup>b</sup>] before his exit from this world, God will forgive him. If he goes out of this world without repentance, he is in the will of God (T). If He wills, He pardons him in His bounty (tafaḍḍul), or if He wills He punishes him according to his sins by His justice, then He brings him into paradise by his mercy.

Whoever says that a believer in God (T) becomes an unbeliever by these sins, is himself an unbeliever and a Ḥarūrī.<sup>1</sup>

Whoever says that if he commits these sins and dies without repenting, he dwells for ever in Hell-fire, is an unbeliever and a Mu'tazilī.

Whoever says that a believer is not hurt by these sins, is a Murji' who does not believe in God (T).

Know that God forgives all sins except polytheism. He said (T): "Truly God does not forgive associating another with Himself, but He forgives whom He wills for anything other than that".<sup>2</sup>

He also said (T): "Say, O my worshippers who have committed excesses against yourselves, do not despair of the mercy of God. Truly God forgives all sins, truly He is the forgiving and merciful One".<sup>3</sup> [82<sup>a</sup>]

He also said (T): "He who does evil or wrongs himself, then asks God for pardon, will find God forgiving merciful",<sup>4</sup> and He said: "'So I said, Ask your Lord for pardon; truly He is very forgiving'".<sup>5</sup>

On this question there is much evidence, and many Traditions. We dislike prolixity, but he who admonishes may be excused, and help towards success is with God.

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1. Reading Ḥarūrī instead of Jarūrī.

2. Q. 4 vs. 116.

3. Q. 39 vs. 53.

4. Q. 4 vs. 110.

5. Q. 71 vs. 10.



(The peroration)

Worshippers of God, guard your religious practice lest you err. For these speculations and heresies have appeared and spread, and the Straight Path has grown strange and is lost. We have described for you by the help of God (T) the practices of the prophets and apostles, the behaviour of the Companions after them, and of the righteous ones and those scholars and diligent devout ones who succeeded them, and the worshippers who walked (according to) these beliefs with their firm grounding in religion, and their study of the roots and branches. They took hold of this way, and kept clear of all else in the way of heresies. [82<sup>b</sup>] We have set forth these articles clearly, and established the arguments for them, and the testimonies in their favour, and their proofs from the verses and Traditions.

So whoever denies any of that is an evil doer and heretic. Upon him be God's curse and wrath and that of the angels and men altogether. Our sufficiency is God - How fine a One to Whose care to be entrusted!

Praise be to God Lord of the universe, and God sends down blessings on our Lord Muḥammad, his family and Companions, and give them perfect and abundant peace until the Day of Judgment!

The completion of the writing of this copy was on the blessed Saturday in the month of Muḥarram in the year A.H. 1132.

Amen

Amen

The End

APPENDIX

Hal al-Īmān Makhlūq aw Ghayr Makhlūq

A Mas'ala ascribed to Abū-l-Layth  
as-Samarqandī

### 1. Description of the manuscript

The British Museum manuscript No. Add 9509 contains in its final folios, 162<sup>a</sup>-162<sup>b</sup>, a short tract (mas'ala) on the nature of faith, entitled Hal al-Īmān makhlūq aw Ghayr Makhlūq?, attributed to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī.

The manuscript itself is a copy of Nāṣir ad-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī's Matāli' al-Anwār, 906 A.H., to which this brief mas'ala, written by a different hand, is appended.

From a first look at this manuscript, it seems easy to edit, but there are some difficulties which might deter anyone from doing so.

These difficulties are that:-

1. The name of the transcriber is not indicated: in fact, the only two names which appear in it are, firstly, the name of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, and secondly, the name of Ḥassān.<sup>1</sup> This may entail another difficulty such as the uncertainty of the approximate year of transcription.
2. The manuscript seems to be incomplete because the transcriber says in the last paragraph that he will present two topics, the first dealing with the Ḥanīf religion, and the second dealing with the Ḥanafī Madhhab. Then he presents the first, but does not present the second, ending the text with a poem composed by Ḥassān b. Thābit.

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1. Ḥassān b. Thābit the well known poet, d. 54/673. Shadh. 1/60. see also 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Barqūnī, Dīwān Ḥassān b. Thābit, Cairo, 1929, p. 78.

3. From the text it is easy to judge that he is a commentator who does not quite agree with the author of another work on two points:

- (a) The commentator says that the author mentioned only confession with the tongue (īqrār) as a sign of being a believer, whereas he should have mentioned knowing in the heart (taṣdīq) along with it as an indication (dalīl) of īmān.
- (b) He also criticises the author because he does not answer the question about creation of faith directly, but instead, divided īmān into two sections, - (i) faith, and (ii) its cause, whereas he should have answered the question firmly by saying that īmān is created.

In each criticism the commentator is trying to explain away the author's argument.

So we have an author and a commentator, one of which is certainly Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, but the text does not help us much to tell whether he was the author or the commentator.

The editor should consult other works of as-Samarqandī in an attempt to recognise his ideas.

In addition to these three difficulties in editing the text, one finds some words are unreadable and others are completely missing.

Since this manuscript is not mentioned in Brockelmann,<sup>1</sup> nor in Sezgin,<sup>2</sup> nor in any of the famous library catalogues,

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1. Brok. 1/196.

2. Sez. 1/450.

apart from the British Museum, it seems that it is unique, and that may lessen the chance of comparing it with other versions.

This is the description of the manuscript in general; in this situation there are two ways in which to clarify the text:

- (a) Consulting as-Samarqandī's own works in which one may find the same argument, or similar ideas, so as to know who is the person criticised, or who is the critic; bearing in mind that the person criticised had ended his work by a chapter on faith as indicated in the text.
- (b) Consulting works of others who have treated, or commented on, works written by as-Samarqandī.

The first possibility is not very helpful because the works written by as-Samarqandī, so far as they are available,<sup>1</sup> do not contain any argument of the sort. Some of them however give an idea of as-Samarqandī's views so far as the creation of Īmān is concerned.

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1. The following works of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī were consulted:

- (1) Tafsīr al-Qur'ān
- (2) Khizānat al-Fiqh
- (3) Mukhtalaf ar-Riwaya
- (4) 'Aqīdat al-Uṣūl
- (5) Bustān al-'Ārifīn
- (6) Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn
- (7) Qurrat al-'Uyūn
- (8) Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar
- (9) Daqā'iq al-Akhbār
- (10) Qūt an-Nafs
- (11) Tuḥfat al-Anām

The second way was very successful; in fact, it uncovered the whole mystery of this manuscript.

To begin with, the work was not written by as-Samarqandī as alleged, but by a commentator called al-Qaramānī. Strangely enough, the manuscript which led me to the discovery of that, exists in the British Museum itself.<sup>1</sup>

One can discover several things from that manuscript; the gaps which are in the text are filled, and the second part which the transcriber did not present is completed.

The work is At-Tawdīh (Elucidation) of Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn Muṣṭafa b. Zakariyya b. Abī Tughonas al-Qaramānī, on the Muqaddama of Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, dated Muḥarram 792 A.H./1389 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. The Commentator

A. The Commentator was eager to explain away why as-Samarqandī did not mention inner conviction as a sign of being a believer.

He may have been worried that as-Samarqandī would be misunderstood, and be consequently liable to the accusation of adopting a Karrāmite creed; because the Karrāmites say that the important sign of being a believer is Iqrār and not Taṣdīq, contrary to the people of the Sunna, who say

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1. The Tawdīh (or, "Elucidation") of Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn Muṣṭafa b. Zakariyya b. Abī Tughonas al-Qaramānī (d. 809/1406), British Museum MS. No. OR 5690.

2. There is another manuscript under the same title and by the same commentator, but given a different date (Shawwāl, A.H. 998). Cf. Cambridge Library Hand-list of Muḥammadan Manuscripts by Browne MS. Add 757. Cambridge 1900, p. 53.

that Īmān is inner conviction and verbal confession, and contrary to al-Māturīdī in particular, who stressed the importance of Taṣdīq and laid less emphasis upon Iqrār.

The Karrāmīte opinion is based on some Qur'ānic verses which they explained as best met their creed; e.g. "Say (O Muslim) we believe in God and that which He revealed unto us".<sup>1</sup> "They say: Our Lord, we believe. Inscribe us as among the witnesses".<sup>2</sup>

These verses seem to show that God made Īmān a mere Iqrār. The Prophet Muḥammad said: "He who says, There is no god but God, will enter heaven", and he said: "I was ordered to fight people till they say that there is no god but God."

These are some of the Traditions on which they founded their doctrine. They refused to make the heart the real criterion of Īmān because it is not stable, and its judgments are changeable. That is why people are not ordered, in the Qur'ān, to treat equally women in love, because the heart is not controllable; whereas they are ordered to treat equally between them verbally and in their actions.<sup>3</sup>

B. The second part of al-Qaramānī's work was about his being pleased, because he is a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa. He exaggerated and <sup>advanced</sup>~~brought~~ some dubious stories, and quoted some unsupported Traditions.

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1. Q. 2 vs. 136.

2. Q. 5 vs. 83.

3. Uṣūl p. 148, Farq. p. 223.

The Prophet is said to have predicted the appearance of Abū Ḥanīfa, and called him the Light of the Community.

Furthermore, his followers would be admitted to heaven; so I would not be surprised if the transcriber of his work omitted that part on purpose, substituting for it the poem of Ḥassān; because as-Samarqandī was broad-minded and he always shows respect to the other prophets and Faqīhs.

### 3. The origin of the question

There is a tendency amongst some scholars to make this problem (i.e. whether *Imān* is created or uncreated) as only occurs amongst the people of Transoxiana and which divides them into two groups, the Samarqandites who profess the doctrine of the created *Imān* and the Bukhārītes who profess the doctrine of the uncreated *Imān*.

For example, al-Pazdawī says that this doctrinal issue occurs as a problem between these two groups (i.e. the Samarqandites and the Bukhārītes) alone, while he brings in the ideas of other groups, such as the Ash'arites, Khārijites, Shī'ites, etc. when dealing with different problems.<sup>1</sup>

Abū 'Udhba does the same thing. He mentioned the thirteen points, which he thinks are the issues between the Maturīdites and the Ash'arites, but he does not include this problem. Although he opposes Ibn al-Humām in his opinion that this problem is only known among the Ḥanafites,

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1. Uṣūl, pp. 154-156.



he does not back his theory by making use of other people's opinions. He treated this problem as a point of issue between the Bukhārites on the one hand, who claimed that Īmān is not created and were so orthodox about it that they branded their opponents as unbelievers, and the Samarqandites, on the other hand, with whom he agreed because they said that Īmān is created.<sup>1</sup>

Even some modern scholars such as Tritton, who followed Abū 'Udhba in assuming that the difference between the Māturīdites and the Ash'arites lies in the thirteen points, does not mention this problem as disputed between the Māturīdites and the Ash'arites, nor does he use it as a focal point between them, but instead he treated it as a matter of issue between the Samarqandites and the Bukhārites.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of confining this problem to the Bukhārites and the Samarqandites is questionable in two ways.

(a) The above-mentioned scholars tried to show that all the Samarqandites professed the doctrine of the created Īmān while the Bukhārites professed the opposite doctrine. A generalization which is not quite true because it is difficult to assume that all the scholars of Samarqand professed this doctrine and that all the scholars of Bukhāra professed the opposite one. Indeed this does not apply to Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī who was from Samarqand, yet as we will see below,

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1. Abū 'Udhba, Al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd-al-Muḥsin Ar-Rawḍa al-Bahiyya Hyderabad 1322/1904.

2. Tritton, A.S. Muslim Theology, London, 1947, p. 176.

he did not hold the same doctrine as his co-citizens did.

(b) It is true that this problem was very well known in Transoxania but these scholars do not bring the views of other groups to bear upon this problem, especially as the history of the problem goes back to the Mu'tazilites and the Jahmites.

Jahm b. Ṣafwān<sup>1</sup> maintained that Īmān is created in man, because actions are metaphorically attributed to man, although the real creator of action is God; just as when we say: "The sun has set", we do not mean it literally but rather metaphorically, because here, the sun has no will of its own.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to this doctrine, we find that the Mu'tazilites were confessing the doctrine of the uncreated Īmān. They were consistent with their tenet, al-'adl (divine justice), because they maintained that it is illogical that God should force man to be an unbeliever only so that he may punish him in the hereafter for being so. Thus Īmān is uncreated but is the action of man.

This opinion, however, led to another serious problem, namely, that man has the power of creating his own deeds, independent of God.<sup>3</sup>

This problem concerned al-Ash'arī and the Māturīdites, whose opinions will be presented in the next paragraph.

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1. Abū Muḥriz Jahm b. Ṣafwān as-Samarqandī. Mīzān. 1/426.

2. Farq. pp. 211-212.

3. Izutsu, T. The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology. 1st ed. Yokohama 1965. pp. 204-214.

4. The opinions of al-Ash'arī, al-Māturīdī, al-Ḥakīm and Abū-l-Layth concerning the creation of faith.

A. Al-Ash'arī

Al-Ash'arī wrote a work entitled Risāla fī-l-Īmān, which is thought to have been written in his Baghdad days. In this work al-Ash'arī held the opinion that Īmān is uncreated, contrary to al-Māturīdī, who professed the idea of khalq al-Īmān. Al-Ash'arī was following Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal<sup>1</sup> against al-Muḥāsibī,<sup>2</sup> Ja'far b. Ḥarb, 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Makkī and others who said that Īmān is created.

Al-Ash'arī maintains that Īmān is not an individual event; it is a cosmic event. "Khalq" means bringing something to being after it was not there. This definition is inapplicable in the case of Īmān, because Īmān has always been there. To say the opposite carries the implication that there was a state in which no tawḥīd nor Īmān existed. This contradicts the Qur'ān because God has existed since eternity and has been emphasising His oneness i.e. tawḥīd. God has also been declaring Himself as truthful, which implies taṣdīq. So tawḥīd and taṣdīq existed even before the creation of mankind who are supposed to practise them. In other words, from eternity there have been tawḥīd and taṣdīq, which both mean Īmān.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Abū-'Abd-Allāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal al-Marwazī d. 241/855. Shadh. 2/96.

2. Al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī. d. 243/857. Shadh. 2/103.

3. Spitta, W. Zur Geschichte Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī's. Leipzig, 1876, pp. 138-140.

## B. Al-Māturīdī.

Al-Māturīdī's opinion differs from al-Ash'arī's. To start with, he does not treat Īmān as a cosmic event; but he escaped that dilemma by supposing that man has already believed in God, then asking whether his Īmān in this case is created or not. God's succour is indispensable, al-Māturīdī would argue, but Īmān itself is a human action similar to his ritual worship.

In his complicated way of proving that Īmān is created, al-Māturīdī begins by inquiring whether Īmān is known or unknown. The only thing that is unknown, al-Māturīdī says, is that which God did not give us a lead (dalīl) to, and that is called "Creation in General" (Khalq fī Jumlat al-gawl). But Īmān is not so, because God ordered us to believe, and warned us if we do not. So Īmān is known.

Then al-Māturīdī says that Īmān is either created or uncreated, and he tries to dispute the uncreatedness of Īmān by both revelation and reason. By revelation when God ordered us to believe; this shows that Īmān is a human action, because human beings are created, and it is impossible that Īmān should be created before the creation of its holder.

By reason, he says that the believer is the one who testifies that God is one. This testimony is by a particular person, and what is thus done is not eternal.

Finally, he tries to prove by revelation and reason that Īmān is created:

### By Revelation

Al-Māturīdī quotes four verses:

1. "When God has created you and all you do".<sup>1</sup>
2. "The Creator of all things".<sup>2</sup>
3. "And keep your opinion secret or proclaim it; lo! He is the knower of all that is in the breasts of men. Should He not know what He has created? And He is the subtle and the aware".<sup>3</sup>
4. "Who created the heavens and the earth and all that is between them".<sup>4</sup>

Īmān is referred to as a created thing in verse No. 1 because it is included in what one does; in No. 2 it is included in the things that God created because al-Māturīdī holds the opinion that every thing apart from God is created, and he allows that God be described as a thing; in No. 3 Īmān is considered as something either proclaimed or hidden; and in No. 4 it is included within the things that rest between the heavens and the earth.

#### By Reason

One could easily observe that all the symptoms of creation which are the marks of createdness apply equally to Īmān, because it occurs in believers, and what has thus occurred is logically created.

Al-Māturīdī quotes some Traditions and builds up a conclusion that supports his theory.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Q. 37 vs. 96.
  2. Q. 39 vs. 62.
  3. Q. 67 vs. 13-14.
  4. Q. 25 vs. 59.
  5. Tawhīd, pp. 385-388.

C. Al-Hakīm as-Samarqandī

In al-Hakīm's opinion, faith is the gift of God, Who gives it to whomsoever He pleases and withholds it from whomsoever He pleases. But in no way does this mean that man has no rôle to play in being a believer. To adopt Īmān there must be eight kinds of actions, four of which are carried out by God and the other four carried out by man.

The first four guide man on the right way, giving him the right way, making him hold fast to the right way, and making him accept the right way.

But man has his own rôle to play also, for he sees, accepts, strives to hold fast to the right way and supplicates God for the ability to accept the right way.

The first four actions are the attributes of God and are thus uncreated, whereas the other four actions are man's doing and thus created. It is only if the eight actions come together that they may be called faith.

If man says: "There is no god but God", the movement of his tongue is part of him and created, but what man says with his tongue is the speech of God and His attribute, and God with all his attributes is eternal.<sup>1</sup>

D. Abū-l-Layth.

It appears from consulting two of as-Samarqandī's works, that he changed his opinion, or, to be more accurate, he modified it. Nevertheless, it is not known which of

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1. B.M. article No. 10. ff. 18<sup>a</sup>-21<sup>a</sup>.

these works was written first.

In Kitāb Bustān al-‘Ārifīn, as-Samarqandī says that there are two opinions regarding the createdness or the uncreatedness of Īmān; the first maintains that Īmān is created because it is iqrār bil-lisān wataṣḍīq bil-Janān, which are the actions of man who is created along with his actions, because God said: "God has created you and all that you do".<sup>1</sup>

The second opinion says that Īmān is a testimony that there is no god but God. When stating the two clauses of the Shahāda, one has to say: "Ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh", which means in other words quoting a verse from the Qur’ān, and the speech of God is uncreated. So if anybody claims that the two clauses of the Shahāda is created he claims that the speech of God is equally created.

Needless to say, the Sunnites refused the idea of the createdness of the Qur’ān.

The other opinion says that Īmān is Taṣḍīq and Iqrār, which are the actions of man who is created along with his actions.

After setting forth the two opinions as-Samarqandī tends to accept that Īmān is uncreated.<sup>2</sup>

The second point of view which seems to be a modification of the first opinion is found in his work ‘Aqīdat al-Uṣūl, in which he divides Īmān into two parts, the divine

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1. Q. 37 vs. 96.

2. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, Bustān al-‘Ārifīn ff. 159-160 [the manuscript is from my own collection.]

action and the human action. Then he says that the divine action is uncreated and human action is created. So he does not say whether īmān is definitely created or uncreated, but believed it to be both at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

### 5. The Translation of the Text.

In the Name of God the Beneficent the Most Merciful  
May God bless our Prophet Muḥammad and grant him peace along  
with his family and Companions.

His saying: (mas'ala), if it is said: "Is īmān created or uncreated?" Say: "īmān...etc."

The answer is that īmān has two aspects (ṭarafān), one of which is created, namely verbal confession (iqrār) and inner conviction (taṣdīq) which are actions of the worshipper; and he along with all his actions and attributes is created; for God (T) said "God has created you and what you do."

The author limits himself to mentioning only verbal confession because it implies inner conviction. The other aspect is uncreated, being the guidance given by God, which means His succour to His creatures, and His willing him good. His illuminating his heart, and His teaching him (the faith).

This is because the action of God is His quality, and both God and all His qualities are uncreated.

The gist of this response is: īmān itself, that is iqrār and taṣdīq is created, because both these are human

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1. Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī 'Aqīdat al-Uṣūl; Indian Office MS. No. 381, f. 9.



actions; but its cause (sabab), that is Divine succour, is uncreated because it is an action of God (T).

Therefore the author (RAA) ought to have limited his answer and said that *Imān* is created, because the question was originally about *Imān* itself not about *Imān* and its cause together.

Because the author out of his great concern for God's guidance and succour especially in this question, which is indeed the greatest and most honourable, did not limit his answer but went repeatedly in it to the quality of this great cause without which man cannot do for a moment. May God commend him scholarly, laborious, humble and polite as he was.

Then the author (RAA) ends his work on the question of *Imān* on a note of auspiciousness and blessing with the hope that God in His mercy may end his life while he is still a believer. O God we pray You, end our lives while we are all believers.

We will end our work with a discussion which is partly concerned with the *Ḥanīf* religion, and partly with what may please us as followers of the *Ḥanafite* rite.

The first part is whether *Imān* is from God to man or vice-versa (from man to God), or some from God and some from man?

If you say it is from God to man, this is the main point (quwwa) of the Jabrites' doctrine, as they say that human beings are forced to believe or disbelieve.

If you say the opposite, that is the main point of the Qadarite doctrine, as they maintain that human beings have

power of themselves for their own acquiring (of actions) before the action, and they do not need any power or help from God (T).

If you say that some of it is from God and some of it is from man, (this *Īmān*) will be shared in by man and God, and that is not permissible.

I say that this question is erroneous and all (the arguments) are impossible. This (judgement) could be attained by reflecting on what we have previously said. We said and still say, that its cause, which is guidance, succour, honouring, causing to know, is from God (T), whereas knowing, being guided, intending and accepting is from man.

No mixture between the two is possible because causing to know is different from knowing, creating is different from what is created, the cause is different from what is caused.

Have you ever seen a sensible man saying that ablution is part of prayer because it is a cause of it? Anyone who cannot distinguish between the attributes of the creator and those of the creature is being led astray and is a heretic - May God (T) protect us from being so!

If it is said: "What is the wisdom of pointing towards the sky with one's forefinger when saying the two clauses of the *Shahāda*", I say, the reason is what has been mentioned in some of the legal opinions, that when God (T) allowed *Ādam* (AS) to enter paradise, He gave him the crown of government, the dress of honour, and He gave him the light of *Muḥammad* (SAAS). Then Paradise was enlightened by his

light - we mean that Ādam (AS) and Paradise from its beginning till its end, were enlightened by the blessing of that light. He (Ādam) was amazed at that, and the light did not rest in one position on his body, but went from his forehead to his right shoulder by the power of God (T), then this light moved from his shoulder to the tip of his forefinger. When it reached that point, Ādam (AS) raised his forefinger behind (i.e. in acknowledgement of) that light; and when he looked at it he could see, by the blessing of (Muḥammad's) light, the Veil of Sovereignty, the Throne, the Holy Chair, and the souls of all creatures.

From that day till the Day of Resurrection, this (action of pointing) has become a doctrine for his children, the Monotheists (Muwahḥidīn). That is why it was called ("Sabāba" i.e. forefinger), because it was the "Sabab" (i.e. cause) of seeing that light.

This work has been written by the saint, the upright, Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī, may God have mercy on him, and all Muslims, and praise be to God the God of all the universe.

The saying of Ḥassān concerning the Prophet (AS)

Have you not seen that God has sent His servant

With clear proof, and God is more exalted  
and more glorious,

Highly esteemed and the prophethood's seal belongs to him

Made public by God, indicating and testifying,

And God has joined the name of the Prophet to His own Name

When the Mu'adhhdhin says in the Five (prayers)  
"I bear witness",

And He gave him a share in His Name to glorify him,

For the Possessor of the Throne is Maḥmūd,  
while this (i.e. the Prophet)  
is Muḥammad.

ومن كتفه الى رأس سبابته ولما انتهى الى رأس سبابته رفع  
 آدم عليه السلام (٢٨) سبابته وراء ذلك النور فإذا نظر فيه  
 رأى حجاب الملك والعرش والكرسي وأرواح جميع الخلائق  
 ببركة نوره صلى (٢٩) الله عليه وسلم ، وصار اصلا لاولاده  
 الموحدين من ذلك الوقت الى يوم التناد ولهذا سميت  
 لأنها سبب رؤية ذلك النور (٣٠) ،

صح ذلك من تأليف الشيخ الولي الصالح ابو الليث اللسمرقندي  
 رحمه الله تعالى ورحم المسلمين أجمعين والحمد لله رب  
 العالمين ،

قول حسان في النبي عليه السلام ،

ألم تر أنّ الله ارسل عبده ببرهان والله اعلا وأمجّد  
 أغرّ (٣١) عليه للنبوة خاتم من الله مشهور يلوح ويشهد  
 وضّمّ الاله اسم النبي الى اسمه (٣٢) اذ قال في الخمس (٣٣) المؤلّن أشهد  
 وشقّ له من اسمه ليجلّه (٣٤) فذو العرش (٣٥) محمود وهذا محمد

٢٨ السلام غير واضحة في الاصل

٢٩ صلى غير واضحة في الاصل

٣٠ من هنا يبدأ القرماني بالكلام عن ما يسرّه لاقتدائه بالمذهب  
 الحنفي بينما وقف الناسخ عند هذا الحد (راجع النص)

٣١ أغر غير واضحة في النص

٣٢ في الاصل لاسمه وفي ديوان حسان الى اسمه

٣٣ الخمس غير واضحة في الاصل

٣٤ وشق له من اسمه ليجلّه غير واضحة

٣٥ في الاصل فذا

اذ التعريف غير المعرفة والتكوين غير المكوّن والسبب غير  
المسبّب ، وهل رأيت عاقلا<sup>(١٩)</sup> يقول الوضوء من الصلاة لكونه  
سببا لها<sup>(٢٠)</sup> ، وكل من لم يميّز صفة الخالق من صفة المخلوق  
فهو ضالّ مبتدع عصمنا الله تعالى<sup>(٢١)</sup> من ذلك  
فان قيل<sup>(٢٢)</sup> ما الحكمة في ان الرجل يشير بسبابته  
الى السماء عند التلفّظ<sup>(٢٣)</sup> لكلمتي الشهادة ،  
قلت - هي ما ذكر في بعض الفتاوى أن الله تعالى لما  
أدخل آدم<sup>(٢٤)</sup> عليه السلام في الجنة ، اعطاه تاج الدولة ولباس الكرامة  
واعطاه نور محمد صلى الله عليه وسلّم وتوتّرت الجنة بنوره  
نعني ان آدم عليه السلام والجنة من أولها الى آخرها<sup>(٢٥)</sup> ببركة  
ذلك النور ، فتعجب من ذلك ولم يستقرّ ذلك النور في موضع من  
بدنه حتى<sup>(٢٦)</sup> ذهب من جبهته الى كتفه الايمن بقدرة<sup>(٢٧)</sup> الله تعالى

١٩ عاقلا خارج النص على الهامش

٢٠ لها غير واضحة في الاصل

٢١ تعالى غير موجودة في نسخة القرماني

٢٢ في نسخة القرماني فان قلت

٢٣ عند التلفظ ممسوحة في الاصل

٢٤ "م" ممسوحة في الاصل

٢٥ صلى غير واضحة في الاصل والعبارة عند القرماني تختلف

"حتى ان رأى آدم الجنة من اولها الى آخرها ببركة ذلك النور"

٢٦ حتى غير واضحة في الاصل

٢٧ بقدرة غير واضحة في الاصل

أما الاول فهو<sup>(١٣)</sup> أن الايمان هل هو من الله الى العبد  
او العكس ، او بعضه من الله وبعضه من العبد ؟  
فان قلت - انه من الله الى العبد فهو قوّة مذهب  
الجبرية ، فانهم يقولون - العبد مجبور على الكفر والايمان ،  
وان قلت - بالعكس فهو قوّة مذهب القدرية فانهم  
يقولون العبد<sup>(١٤)</sup> مستطيع لكسب نفسه بنفسه قبل الفعل  
ولا يحتاج الى قوّة وعون من الله تعالى ،  
وان قلت - بعضه من الله وبعضه من العبد يكون مشتركا  
بين العبد والرب<sup>(١٥)</sup> وذلك لا يجوز ،  
قلت - هذا السؤال مغالطة والكل ممنوع يعرف<sup>(١٦)</sup> ذلك  
بالتأمل فيما تقدّم فانما<sup>(١٧)</sup> قلنا ونقول أيضا - ان<sup>(١٨)</sup> سببه  
الذى هو الهداية والتوفيق والاكرام والتعريف من الله تعالى ،  
والمعرفة والاهتداء والقصد والقبول من العبد ولا اختلاط بينهما ،

١٣ في الاصل نهى

١٤ العبد غير واضحة ولكنها مقروءة ،

١٥ الرب غير واضحة

١٦ في نسخة القرماني ويعرف

١٧ في نسخة القرماني فإنما

١٨ إن غير موجودة في الاصل

فيقول - انه مخلوق ، لان السؤال كان عن ④ نفس  
الايمان لا عن ⑤ الايمان وسببه معا ولانه ⑥ رحمه الله من  
شدة تطلعه الى عناية الله وتوفيقه خصوصا في هذه  
المسألة التي هي اعظم المسائل واشرفها ، لم يقطع  
الجواب وتردد فيه الى صفة ⑦ هذا السبب العظيم  
الذي لا يستغني عنه العبد طرفة عين لله دره ⑧ علما  
وعملا وتواضعا وأديبا  
ثم انه رحمه الله انما ختم الكتاب بمسئلة  
الايمان تيمنا وتبركا ⑨ ورجاء من فضل الله ان يختم  
عاقبته بالايمان ، اللهم ⑩ اختم عاقبتنا كلنا به بفضلك  
وكرمك ،

ولنختم الكتاب بكلام بعضه يتعلق بالدين  
الحنفي ⑪ وبعضه مما يسرنا لاقتدائنا ⑫ بالمذهب الحنفي

- 
- ٤ في الاصل بين وفي القرماني عن  
٥ في الاصل بين وفي القرماني عن  
٦ في الاصل ولا أنه والقرماني ولأنه  
٧ صفة غير واضحة في الاصل  
٨ دره غير واضحة في الاصل  
٩ تبركا غير واضحة في الاصل  
١٠ اللهم غير واضحة في الاصل  
١١ غير واضحة في الاصل  
١٢ غير واضحة في الاصل



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم  
قوله - مسألة ، فلن قيل الإيمان مخلوق او غير  
مخلوق ؟

فقل - الإيمان ----- الخ

تقرير الجواب أن الإيمان له طرفان احدهما مخلوق وهو الإقرار  
والتصديق اللذان هما فعلا العبد ، والعبد مع جميع افعاله وصفاته  
مخلوق لقوله تعالى " والله خلقكم وما تعملون " <sup>①</sup> ،  
وانما اكتفى المصنف رحمه الله بذكر الإقرار لكونه دليل  
التصديق ،

والطرف الآخر غير مخلوق وهو الهداية من الله تعالى ونعني  
بها التوفيق منه للعبد واراادته الخير له وإلقاءه النور في قلبه  
وتعريفه إياه وهذا لأن فعل الله تعالى صفته ، والله تعالى مع  
جميع صفاته غير مخلوق ،  
فحاصل هذا الجواب أن الإيمان نفسه ، ونعني به الإقرار  
والتصديق مخلوق <sup>②</sup> لكونهما فعلا <sup>③</sup> العبد ، وسببه ، ونعني به  
التوفيق من الله تعالى غير مخلوق لكونه فعل الله تعالى  
فعلى هذا كان ينبغي للمصنف رحمه الله ان يقطع الجواب

١ - ٣٧ آية ٩٦ الصافات

٢ - غير موجودة في النسخة الاصلية وموجودة في نسخة القرماني

٣ - في نسخة القرماني " فعلى "

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